James Mill

THE HISTORY OF

BRITISH INDIA.

FROM 1805 TO 1835.

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OF

BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1823, TO THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD W. BENTINCK, 1835.

CHAPTER I.

Appointment of Mr. Canning as Governor-General. — Accession to the Ministry. — Lord Amherst appointed. — Mr. Adam Governor-General prior to his Arrival. — His Measures, regarding the Press; regarding Hyderabad. — Lord Amherst's Arrival. — Impending War with Ava. — Countries on the Eastern Frontier, — Asam, — Kachar, — Manipur, — Arakan, — Tenaserim, — Ava. — Burma conquest of Arakan. — Oppression of the People, — their Flight to the British Province of Chittagong, — allowed to settle. — Inroads into the Burma Districts, — ascribed to British encouragement. — Burma Forces cross the Frontier, — compelled to retire. — Insurgent Chiefs delivered up. — Emigrations repeated, and Fugitives demanded. — Missions to Ava. — Insurrection of Khyen-bran. — Mission of Captain Canning. —

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Advance into the Interior.—Position of the British Troops at Rangoon.—Shwe-da-gon Pagoda,—Description of,—abandoned by the Priests,—occupied by the British.—Double Lines connecting the Pagoda and the Town.—Military Excursions.—Setting in of the Rains.

BOOK III. CHAP. I. 1823.

As soon as the intention of the Marquis of Hastings to retire from the Government of India was made known to the Court of Directors, they proceeded to nominate a successor in the person of George Canning. This distinguished statesman and orator had held the office of President of the Board of Control from June 1816 to December 1820, and by his general concurrence with the commercial and political measures of the Court, had secured their good will and that of the proprietary body.[1] The embarrassing position in which he stood towards his colleagues in the administration, and his consequent separation from them, disposed them to contemplate with satisfaction his removal to a distant region; and his nomination was readily confirmed. It may be doubted, if Mr. Canning accepted the appointment without reluctance. The field most congenial to his talents was the House of Commons, where his display of wit and eloquence ensured him the admiration of even his bitterest opponents. In India, as he well knew from his experience at the Board, oratory was of no value: he would there

[1] See Correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Right Honourable George Canning, President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors.—Asiatic Journal, April and May, 1821.

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have to act, not to talk—to reason, not to debate—and, instead of pouring out a torrent of words fitter to bewilder than to convince, admitting no pause for thought, he would have to vindicate his proceedings by principles carefully weighed and cautiously advocated, and subject to the calm and deliberate scrutiny of superior authority. That some such hesitation influenced his purposes, may be inferred from the scant alacrity of his preparations for his departure. The delay was productive of a change of destiny; and before he had embarked for India, the death of Lord Castlereagh and the exigencies of the government placed him in the position of which he had long been ambitious, and for which he was eminently qualified, that of the leading representative of the ministry in the House of Commons.

The elevation of Mr. Canning to a principal place in the Home Administration, again left the office of Governor-General vacant. The vacancy was filled up by the nomination of Lord Amherst, a nobleman who had taken no share in the party animosities of the period; but who, a few years before, had discharged with credit the embarrassing office of Envoy to China, and had resisted with dignity and firmness the attempts of the Court of Pekin to extort from him those confessions of humiliation, which it was its policy to demand from all states so abject or unwise as to solicit the admittance of their representatives to the Imperial presence. Untaught by the repeated failures of both the Dutch and English governments to negociate with the cabinet of Pekin upon a footing of

equality, the despatch of an Embassy by the Crown had been urged by the Company's servants in China upon the home authorities, consequently upon disputes with the vice-regal government of Canton, and the recommendation had been inconsiderately adopted. The disagreements had in the mean time been adjusted on the spot; and the only results of the mission were the subjection of the ambassador to gross personal indignity, and the precipitate dismissal of the Embassy without any communication with the emperor. The conduct of Lord Amherst under these trying circumstances had afforded entire satisfaction to his own government and to the Court of Directors; and his elevation to the high office of Governor General of India was a compensation for the ordeal he had gone through at Pekin.[1]

In the interval that elapsed between the departure of the Marquis of Hastings in January, 1823, and the arrival of Lord Amherst in the August following, the Government devolved upon the senior member of Council, Mr. John Adam. During the brief period of his administration, tranquillity prevailed throughout Hindustan; and the prosperous condition of the finances enabled him to address his principal attention to the relief of the public burthens, and the adoption of measures of internal improvement. The interest of the public debt was finally reduced from six to five per cent., and a proportionate annual diminution of expense consequently effected.[2] The accession to the revenue

[1] Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China, by Henry Ellis.—Notes of Proceedings and Occurrences during the British Embassy to Pekin, in 1816, by Sir G. Thomas Staunton.

[2] The annual amount of interest in Bengal in 1821-2, was Rupees

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thus realised was considered by the local government to be applicable to objects of public advantage; and, consistently with this impression, it was determined to give effect to the provision of the last Charter, sanctioning the yearly outlay of one lakh of rupees on account of native education, and to adopt measures for the systematic promotion of so important an object. Other projects of a like beneficent tendency were in contemplation, when they were suspended by prohibitory instructions from home,[1] and finally frustrated by the financial difficulties consequent upon an expensive war.

The proceedings of Mr. Adam's administration, with respect to the Calcutta press and to the house of Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad, have been already adverted to. Upon these two subjects, he had, while Member of Council, uniformly dissented from the opinions of the Governor-General; and it was to be anticipated, from his known character for firmness and consistency, that, whenever the decision rested with himself, he would not be deterred by any fear of unpopularity, from acting up to the

1.60.00.000; in 1822-3, it was reduced to Rupees 1.30.00.000, being a diminution of thirty Lakhs, or £300,000.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1842, vol. i. part 2. p. 246.

[1] Letter from the Court to the Bengal Government, 24th Feb. 1824. —Report Commons Committee, Public App. p. 107. "The act of the 53rd George III.," the Court observe, "provides that the appropriation of any surplus, with exception of the provision for literary purposes, shall be restricted to the liquidation of the public debt." And they question the estimate of the Bengal Government as to the amount of the surplus; as it was not apprised of the extent of the home demands on territorial account; the Court having already ordered a remittance from India of two millions sterling to provide for the charge, and announcing a further outlay during the current year of nearly a like extent. These remittances must have been provided from some other source, as the surplus was soon absorbed by the expenses of the war with Ava.

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principles he had maintained. The occasion soon occurred. The editor of the *Calcutta Journal* having infringed the regulations to which the press had been subjected by the Government, rendered himself liable to the infliction of the penalty with which he had been previously menaced; and he was, consequently, deprived of his license to reside in Bengal, and compelled to return to England. This proceeding exposed Mr. Adam to much obloquy, both in India and in England; but the sentence was confirmed by repeated decisions of the Court of Proprietors, and by the judgment of the Privy Council, upon a petition for the annulment of the Press regulations, which was refused;[1] and it was no more than the natural and necessary result of the conviction which Mr. Adam had all along avowed, of the incompatibility of an unrestricted freedom of the press with the social condition of British India.[2]

The connection of the mercantile house of Palmer and Company with the minister of the Nizam had

[1] See Reports of Debates at the India House, 9th and 23rd July, 1824; 22nd December, 1824; 18th January, 1826. After the latter, in which the question of compensation for losses incurred was discussed, a ballot was taken on the 11th April, 1826, when 157 voted for, and 436 against it.—Asiatic Journal, *passim.*—For the decision of the Privy Council, *ibid*, November, 1825.

[2] The nature of Mr. Buckingham's offence might have seemed to call for a punishment less severe, as it was merely a paragraph throwing ridicule upon the appointment of a minister of the Scotch church to the office of Clerk to the Committee of Stationery; but the act was a breach of the regulation prohibiting editors of papers from commenting on the measures of the Government; and it was committed in defiance of a previous intimation, that on the first occasion on which such a disregard for the regulations of the Government, as had been formerly evinced, should be repeated, the penalty of a revocation of the license would be inflicted. The particular occasion was of little moment: it was the reiteration of the offence which incurred the sentence.

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always been strenuously objected to by Mr. Adam, and he had warmly supported the similar views entertained by the resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe. He was fully prepared, therefore, to carry into effect the orders of the Court, received shortly before the departure of his predecessor, and to put an end to transactions which he considered as unjust to the Nizam and discreditable to the British character. The advance to the Nizam of a sufficient sum to discharge his debt to Palmer and Company, in redemption of the tribute, on account of the Northern Circars, was in consequence concluded; and the house was interdicted from any further pecuniary dealings with the Court. The determination was fatal to the interests of the establishment; and, as many individuals were involved in its failure, the measure contributed to swell the tide of unpopularity against the Governor-General: such, however, was the solid worth of his character, and such the universal impression of his being alone actuated by a conscientious consideration for the public good, that his retirement from public duty on account of failing health, and his subsequent decease, called forth a general expression of regret from his contemporaries, and a deserved tribute of acknowledgment from those whom he had long faithfully and ably served.[1]

[1] Mr. Adam died on the 4th June, 1825, on board the Albion, bound to England, where she arrived on the 11th September. On the 14th, the following resolution was passed by the Court of Directors:—"Resolved unanimously, That this Court, having received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mr. John Adam, in his passage from India to this country, desire to record in the strongest terms their deep sense of his exemplary integrity, distinguished ability, and indefatigable zeal in the service of the East India Company, during a period of nearly thirty years; in the course of which, after filling the

The new Governor-General assumed the supreme authority in August, 1823, and had scarcely had time to cast a hasty glance at the novel circumstances around him, when indications of a storm, which had been silently gathering for a long time past upon the eastern portion of the British dominions, became too imminent to be longer disregarded, and required to be encountered with all the energies of the state. Hostilities were unavoidable, and the war had to be carried on under circumstances peculiarly unpromising. As in the case of the conflict with Nepal, the enemy was a semi-barbarous power, inflated with an overweening confidence in his own strength, and ignorant of the superior resources of the British Indian empire: but in Nepal, although the surface was rugged, the mountains were not unfriendly to health and life; and their contiguity to the plains brought within easy reach all the means and appliances that were essential to military movements. In Ava, the marsh and the forest, teeming with deleterious vapours, were to be traversed; and the supplies, of which the country was destitute, could be furnished only from a distant region, and for the most part, by a slow, precarious, and costly transport by sea. In Ava also, as in Nepal, but in a still greater degree, the difficulties of a campaign were inordinately enhanced, by the total absence of local knowledge, and ignorance of the inhospitable and impervious tracts

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highest offices under the Bengal Government, he was more than six years a member of the Supreme Council, and held, during some months of that time, the station of Governor-General. And that the Court most sincerely participate in the sorrow which must be felt by his relations and friends on this lamented event."

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through which it was attempted to march with all the array and impediments of civilised war.

The countries lying on the east and south-east of the British frontier of Bengal, from Asam to Arakan, a distance from north to south of about four hundred miles, were almost unknown at this period to European geography, having been hitherto closed against the inquiries of the Company's officers by their inherent physical difficulties, the barbarous habits of the people, the jealousy of their chiefs, and the unwillingness of the Indian government to sanction any enterprise of their servants, which might inspire doubts of their designs in the minds of the rulers of the adjacent regions. On the most northern portion of the boundary, the valley of Asam, watered by the converging branches of the Brahmaputra, was immediately contiguous to the province of Rungpore, whence it stretched for three hundred and fifty miles in a north-easterly direction to snow-clad mountains separating it from China. Along its southern limits, a country of hill and forest, tenanted by a number of wild tribes, with whom no intercourse had ever been opened, spread towards the east, and in its central portion, under the designation of Kachar, was conterminous on the west with the British district of Sylhet, and was bounded on the east by the mountain-girdled valley of Manipur. Similar tracts, inhabited by rude uncivilised races, extended to the south, skirting the provinces of Tipera and Chittagong, until the latter was divided by an inlet of the sea, from the principality of Arakan, recently become a part of the Burma dominions. Beyond Arakan, extend-

ing southwards to Tenaserim, and northwards to Asam, the whole of the territory west of the Chinese frontier acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of Ava, who was thus, in Arakan, the immediate neighbour of the British Indian empire, and was separated from it throughout the rest of its eastern limits by petty states, and uncivilised races, too feeble to defend themselves against his power, and rapidly falling a prey to his ambition. It had long been foreseen, that the progressive approximation of the Burma dominion was calculated to lead to a collision; and circumstances early occurred, which could not fail to create mutual dissatisfaction and distrust. The tone of the Government of Ava was always of a tendency to provoke resentment rather than invite forbearance; and although it was no part of the policy of the Government of Bengal to excite the suspicion, or incur the enmity of the Court of Ava, yet some of the transactions in which it was engaged were not unlikely to arouse such feelings in a haughty and ambitious state, and one incapable of appreciating the motives by which the relations of civilised powers with their neighbours are regulated. The position of Chittagong had, in an especial manner, furnished cause for reciprocal offence and irritation.

In the year 1784, the Burmas invaded the principality of Arakan, long an independent kingdom, and when first visited by Europeans, abounding in population and affluence. The people of Arakan, although identical in origin with the Burmas, speaking the same language, and following similar institutions, had until the period specified

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formed a distinct political society, the rulers of which, tracing their descent from remote periods, had at various times extended their sway over countries lying to their north-west, including Chittagong, Tipera, Dacca, and other parts of Bengal. Engaged repeatedly in hostilities with the Burmas, the affinity of race had only exacerbated mutual antipathy, and an implacable animosity separated the two nations more effectually than the mountain barriers which interposed between them. Civil dissension at length undermined the independence of Arakan. At the invitation of a disloyal chieftain, the forces of Minderagi Prahu, the king of Ava, crossed the Yumadong mountains, defeated the troops opposed to them, took prisoner the king of Arakan, Samada, with his family, and condemned them to perpetual captivity.[1] The king shortly afterwards died; his relations were suffered to sink into obscurity, and Arakan became an integral part of the kingdom of Ava, under the authority of a viceroy.[2]

[1] Sketch of Arakan, by Charles Paton, Esq.—Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi.—On the History of Arakan, by Captain Phayre, Senior Assistant Commissioner.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. vols. x. 679, and xiii 23. According to Captain Phayre, the people of Arakan call themselves Myammas, which, in Burma pronunciation, is the same as Brammas, or Burmas. Their language and written characters are the same, with some varieties of articulation. The country they term Rakhain, and refer it to the Sanscrit word Rakshas, a malignant spirit. Besides the Myammas, the population consists of various hill and forest tribes, apparently of kindred origin; also of a considerable proportion of Mohammedans and Bengalis, and of a mixed race from Myamma fathers and Bengali mothers to whom the term "Mugs" is properly restricted, although it is indiscriminately applied by the English in Bengal to the people of Arakan. The Mugs follow the faith of their fathers, a corrupt Buddhism, but their language is Bengali. Symes says, Mogo is a term of religious import, applied to the priesthood and the King, whence the inhabitants are improperly termed Mughs.—Embassy to Ava, 104. Lieutenant Phayre is a better authority, but he leaves the etymology of the term "Mug" unexplained.

[2] Symes, Embassy to Ava, 110.

The oppressive system of the Burma government, and the heavy exactions which they levied, soon reduced the people to extreme misery and drove them into repeated insurrections: the severity with which these were repressed, and despair of effective resistance, were followed by the flight of vast numbers of the natives to the borders of Chittagong, where they were permitted to settle upon extensive tracts of waste land hitherto untenanted. Many became industrious and peaceable cultivators; but others, lurking in the border forests, emboldened by the certainty of a safe refuge, and instigated by proximity to their native country, to which the people of Arakan have a strong attachment, availed themselves of the opportunity to harass the intrusive government, and by constant predatory incursions disturb its repose and impair its resources. As these marauders issued from the direction of the British districts, and fell back upon them on any reverse of fortune; and as they experienced the treatment which humanity dictated, and were encouraged to become peaceable subjects of the Company, the court of Ava, not very unreasonably, suspected that they were abetted in their incursions by the British authorities, who were thus carrying on a covert war against the Burmas, which it became necessary to oppose by open force.

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In the year 1793, three insurgent chiefs of some note, who had been defeated in one of their enterprises, fled as usual to the Company's territory of Chittagong.[1] Without any communication of his

[1] Colonel Symes speaks of these men as robbers—leaders of banditti—being either uninformed of their political character, or not choosing to acknowledge it. p. 117.

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purposes to the British functionaries, the Burma monarch commanded that the fugitives should be pursued whithersoever they had fled, and brought back dead or alive. A force of five thousand men was sent across the Naf on this duty, and an army, twenty thousand strong, was to be assembled at Arakan for their support if necessary. The general of the Burma force, after crossing the river, addressed the judge and magistrate of Chittagong, explaining the occasion of his inroad, but disclaiming hostile intentions, if the fugitives were secured and delivered into his hands. At the same time, he declared that he should not quit the Company's territories until they were given up; and, in confirmation of his menace, he fortified his camp with a stockade. To submit patiently to so unjustifiable a violation of the British boundary, surpassed even the pacific forbearance of Sir John Shore; and a detachment was sent from Calcutta and Chittagong under General Erskine, to compel the Burmas to withdraw into their own confines, it being intimated to them that, after their retreat, the delinquents whom they were in quest of, and who had been secured by the magistrates, should be given up, if the British government was satisfied of the justice of the charges against them. After receiving this assurance, the Burma commander retired, having carefully restrained his men during their encampment in the Company's territory from any act of violence or spoliation. The three insurgent chiefs, after undergoing the form of a judicial investigation, were pronounced guilty, and delivered to their enemies. Two of them were shut up in closed

cells and starved to death; the third contrived to escape, and found a more permanent asylum than on his first flight, in Chittagong. The cession of the fugitives was ascribed by the Burmas to no principle of international equity, but to dread of their resentment, and contributed to confirm them in a belief, which they had begun to entertain, of their own superiority to the foreign conquerors of Hindustan; an impression which was strengthened by the efforts made to conciliate the court of Ava, and the despatch of a friendly mission under the conduct of Captain Symes.[1]

A very few years witnessed the recurrence of similar transactions; and in the years 1797 and 1798, a body of people, amounting, it is said, to between thirty and forty thousand, emigrated from Arakan into the Chittagong district.[2] The viceroy sent after them a military force across the frontier, and wrote a threatening letter to the magistrate announcing the occurrence of war between the two states, unless the emigrants were forced to return to Arakan. The magistrate insisted on the im-

[1] Dr. Buchanan, who accompanied Captain Symes in the Embassy sent by Sir J. Shore, in 1795, observes: "The opinion that prevailed, both at Chittagong and Ava, was, that the refugees were given up from fear; and this opinion has, no doubt, continued to operate on the ill-informed Court of Ava, and has occasioned a frequent repetition of violence and insolence ending in war. These evils might possibly have been avoided by a vigorous repulse of the invasion in 1794; and a positive refusal to hearken to any proposal for giving up the insurgents, after the Court of Ava had adopted hostile measures in place of negociation."—Account of the Frontier between Bengal and Ava. Edinburgh Journal of Science. October, 1825.

[2] An officer, Captain Cox, was employed to superintend their location. According to his report, he had a register of 13,000 settlers; and he had reason to believe, that between 40,000 and 50,000 would come forward as soon as he could assign them lands sufficient for their maintenance. Above 10,000 were located in the situation subsequently known as Cox's Bazar.—Malcolm, Pol. India, i. 556.

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mediate retreat of the Burmas; but they stockaded themselves, and repulsed an attack upon their intrenchments. They shortly afterwards withdrew; and as the court was then occupied with schemes of conquest in Asam, it was judged expedient to have recourse to moderate counsels, and an envoy was despatched to Calcutta, to negociate for the restoration of the fugitives. In the meantime, the government of Bengal had resolved to admit the emigrants to the advantages of permanent colonisation, and assigned them unoccupied lands in the southern portion of the district, engaging that they should not be suffered to molest the Burma settlers in Arakan, and that no more should be permitted to cross over into the Company's possessions. Lord Wellesley flattered himself that these promises, and the assurances given to the envoy, would satisfy the court of Ava of the friendly disposition of the British government; but so far was this expectation from being realised, that in 1800, the demand for the restoration of the emigrants was renewed, accompanied by the threat of invasion, if not complied with. It did not suit the convenience of the Bengal government to take serious notice of the menace; and it was treated as the unauthorised impertinence of the viceroy of Arakan. A force was, however, posted on the frontier, and Colonel Symes was again sent as an envoy to Ava, to appease the indignation of the monarch. No particulars of this second mission have ever been given to the public; but it is known to have failed in effecting any of its objects. The Envoy was detained three months at Mengwon, the temporary residence

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of the court. During this period, he was admitted to a single and disdainful audience of the king, and at the end was allowed to leave the place without any notice. No public answer was vouchsafed to a letter addressed by the Governor-General to the king; and a reply which was privately furnished, and was of questionable authenticity, took no notice of the subject of the letter which it professed to answer. The only effect of this mission was to lower the Indian government in the estimation of the Burma Court.[1]

The suspicions of the Court of Ava were again aroused, and invigorated by the events which took place in the same quarter in 1811; when a formidable rising of the people occurred under the guidance of Khyen-bran,[2] the son of the district officer, by whom the Burmas had been invited into Arakan, and who had been rewarded for his treason with the contempt and neglect which it deserved. The resentment which he consequently cherished against the Burmas, was bequeathed to his son, who had

[1] The official despatch, announcing the result of the mission, states, that Colonel Symes received assurances of the friendly disposition of the Burma Court, on which he had succeeded in impressing the fullest confidence in the good faith and amicable views of the British Government.—Pol. History of India, i. 557. It is rather incompatible with this impression, that, in 1809, it was ascertained that the Burmas had for years meditated seriously the conquest of Chittagong and Dacca. The disgraceful treatment of the Embassy, we now learn, however, from another source.—Historical Review of the Political Relations between the British Government in India and the Empire of Ava. By G. J. Bayfield, Acting Assistant to the British Resident in Ava. Revised by the Resident Lieut.-Col. Burney. Calcutta, 1835.

[2] This is the Chief, usually denominated by English inaccuracy, King-bering. The name is, properly, Khyen-byan; the latter pronounced by the Burmas "bran," meaning, according to Lieutenant Phayre, Khyen-return: the boy having been born after his father's return from a visit to the mountain tribe, called Khyens.

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been one of the emigrants to Chittagong. After a tranquil residence of some years, Khyen-bran collected a numerous band of his countrymen, and at their head burst into Arakan, the whole of which, with the exception of the capital, he speedily reduced to his authority. Arakan itself capitulated; but the terms were violated, and great disorders were committed by the victors. It was the firm conviction of the Viceroy of Arakan, that this formidable aggression originated with, and was supported by, the government of Bengal; and such was the view, undoubtedly, entertained by the king and his ministers.[1] In the hope of effacing so mistaken an impression, Captain Canning, who had twice before been employed on a similar duty,[2] was sent to Ava to disavow all connection with the insurgents, and to assure the court of the desire of the government of Bengal to maintain undisturbed the existing amicable intercourse. He found the court, as he expected, so strongly impressed with the belief that the British government was implicated in the late revolt, that, in anticipation of hostilities, an embargo had been laid upon the British vessels at Rangoon. This was taken off by the Viceroy of

[1] Papers, Burmese War. Printed for Parliament.—Despatch of Governor-General, 23rd Jan. 1812, par. 9.

[2] His first mission was in 1803, when he was deputed as British Agent at Rangoon; but the inimical conduct of the Viceroy curtailed his residence there to less than a twelvemonth. He was sent a second time in 1809, to explain the nature of the blockade imposed upon the trade with the Isles of France. He was treated with rather more civility than on his first visit, and was allowed to proceed to Amarapura, where he had an audience of the King. No reply was given by His Majesty to the letter from the Governor-General, with which the Envoy was charged; but one from the ministers hinted at the pretensions of Ava to Chittagong and Dacca. Nothing more satisfactory could be obtained.

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Pegu, in compliance with the assurances and remonstrances of the Envoy: but the temper of the Court was less placable; and before Captain Canning had quitted Rangoon for the capital, he was apprised that the Viceroy of Arakan had entered into the Company's confines with a hostile force, and was instructed to return immediately to Bengal. On the other hand, peremptory orders were received from the Court to send Captain Canning to the capital, by force, if requisite, it being the obvious intention of the Burma cabinet to detain him as a hostage for the delivery of Khyen-bran. The commands of his own government, and the firmness of the Envoy, disappointed the project of the Court; and the presence of two of the Company's armed vessels at Rangoon deterred the Viceroy from recourse to violence. Captain Canning returned to Calcutta, and no further missions were ventured to Ava, until the events of the war had secured greater respect for the person of a British Envoy.

The triumph of Khyen-bran was of brief duration. As soon as the rainy season had ended, a large Burma force marched into Arakan, recaptured the town, and defeated and dispersed the insurgents. They fled to their former haunts, and were followed by a division of the victorious army to the British frontier. The delivery of the rebel leaders was demanded by the Viceroy of Arakan, with a threat, that, in the event of non-compliance, he would invade the Company's territories with a force of sixty thousand men, and would annex Chittagong and Dacca to the dominions of his sovereign. In

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consequence of these proceedings, the troops on the frontier were reinforced, and intimation was conveyed to the Viceroy, that any violation of the boundary would be at once resented. This show of firmness had the effect of checking the military demonstrations of Ava, and the delivery of the rebel leaders was made the subject of negociation. Envoys were sent to Bengal on the part, nominally, of the viceroys of Arakan and Pegu to urge compliance. The tone of the communications was ill calculated to attain their object.[1]

As soon as they had recovered from the effects of their discomfiture, Khyen-bran and his followers renewed their incursions with varying but generally unfavourable results; and as their ravages served only to keep alive the irritation of the Ava government and perpetuate the distracted state of the districts on either bank of the Naf, it became necessary to take some active measures for their suppression. A proclamation was accordingly issued, prohibiting any of the subjects of the Company from aiding and abetting the insurgents in any manner whatever, directly or indirectly; and rewards were offered for the apprehension of their chiefs—detachments of troops were also sent to disperse any armed assemblages of the people, and to secure the leaders. Several were arrested, and some check was given to the aggressions on the Burma province: but the attachment of his countrymen effect-

[1] In a letter from the Viceroy of Pegu, the Governor-General was informed, that, by surrendering the Mug fugitives and sending them to Ava, he might obtain the royal pardon for the numerous falsehoods he had written. His Majesty would take patience, and many human beings would enjoy peace and tranquillity.—Bayfield's Historical Review, p. 36.

ually screened Khyen-bran from seizure; and as long as he was at large, it was not in the power of either the British or the Burma government to prevent him from collecting adherents, and harassing at their head the oppressors of his country.

This condition of the frontier continued with little amelioration during the three succeeding years. The same aggressions were repeated, and provoked the like demonstrations and menaces on the part of the Burmas, which were met by the same disclaimers, and preparations for resistance, on that of the British. All attempts to put a stop to the source of these distractions were unavailing. Many of the principal followers of Khyen-bran were apprehended; and, although humanity prevented their being given up to the Burmas, they were removed from the scene of action, and kept in strict confinement. His parties were repeatedly scattered by British or Burma detachments; his haunts were broken up, and his principal fortress, a strong stockade at Tyne, in the heart of the thickets, was taken and destroyed. He still continued in arms; and it was not until the beginning of 1815, that his death put an end to the border troubles of Chittagong and Arakan, and removed all occasion for discord between the neighbouring states. It did not, however, extinguish the feelings which the suspected connivance of the British government in the outrages of the insurgents had inspired, and the resentment which was thus excited, and the jealousy which was ever afterwards entertained, were among the principal causes of the ensuing war.

Although some disturbances, springing from the

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irruption of parties of the expatriated Arakaners into the Burma dependencies, survived Khyen-bran, yet they were not of sufficient importance to interrupt the good understanding which it was endeavoured to preserve, with the Burma authorities of Arakan. It was evident, however, that their government was not to be satisfied, except by the surrender of the captured chiefs; the demand for which was from time to time reiterated, notwithstanding the firm, but temperate, refusal of the Governor-General to comply with the application. In 1817, a letter from the Raja of Ramri, or, as he styled himself, the Governor of the Four Provinces, Arakan, Chynda, Cheduba, and Ramri, having called upon the magistrate of Chittagong to restore the fugitives from Arakan, to their dependence upon Ava, the opportunity was taken of explaining to his superior, the Viceroy of Pegu, the principles by which the conduct of the governments of India was actuated. In the reply of the Marquis of Hastings, it was stated, that the British government could not, with a due regard to the dictates of justice, deliver up those who had sought its protection, some of whom had resided within its boundary for thirty years: no restraint was imposed upon their voluntary return, but no authority could be employed to enforce it: the necessity of such a measure was now less manifest than ever, as the troubles which had existed, had, through the vigilance and perseverance of the British officers, been suppressed, and the tranquil habits of the settlers had rendered their recurrence extremely improbable. No notice was taken of this letter, but that it had failed to appease the haughty

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spirit of the Court, was soon evidenced by the receipt of a second despatch from the same functionary, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Ramoo, Chittagong, Murshedabad, and Dacca. This claim was seriously put forth. It has been mentioned, that some of the kings of Arakan had, at remote periods, exercised temporary dominion over portions of Bengal; and the monarch of Ava, having succeeded to their sovereignty, considered himself entitled to the whole of the territories which had acknowledged their sway. To give the weight of intimidation to these pretensions, the recent conquests of Ava, in Asam, Manipur, and Kachar, were pompously exaggerated. The letter was sent back to the Viceroy of Pegu, with an expression of the belief of the Governor-General, that it was an unauthorised act of the Raja of Ramri, and of his conviction, that if it could be supposed to emanate from the King of Ava, it would justify the Bengal government in regarding it as a declaration of war. The Marquis of Hastings was, however, too much occupied in Central India, at this time, to bestow any serious attention upon the arrogant pretensions of a barbarous court; and the brilliant successes of the Pindari campaign, which were known, although imperfectly, at Amarapura, contributed to deter the Burma ministers from repeating their demands. The accession of a new sovereign in the place of Minderaji Prahu in 1819, and the active interposition of his successor in the affairs of the countries to the northward, and especially in Manipur and Asam, deterred the Burmas apparently from reiterating their claims, although they rather

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favoured than discountenanced their project of eventual collision with the government of Bengal.

The rich valley of Asam had long been the scene of internal dissension, the inevitable consequence of the partition of authority among a number of petty chiefs, each of whom claimed, as his hereditary right, a voice in the nomination of the Raja, and a share in the administration. Originally a Hindu principality, Asam had been subjugated in the 13th century by princes of the Shan race, and they had requited the services of their chief adherents, by dividing with them the functions of the government. Three principal ministers, termed Gohains, formed a council, without whose concurrence the Raja could issue no commands, nor was he legally enthroned until they had assented to his elevation. The Raja had the power of dismissing either of these individuals, but only in favour of some person of the same family. Officers of inferior rank, but equally claiming by title of inheritance, termed Phokans and Barwas, exercised various degrees of authority. The most important of them, styled the Bor Phokan, was the governor of an extensive portion of Central Asam. The encroachments of these dignitaries on the ill-defined authority of the Raja, and his endeavours to free himself from their control, generated a perpetual succession of domestic intrigues, which were not unfrequently fatal to all who were concerned in them.

In 1809, a conspiracy was set on foot by the Raja, Chandra Kanta, to get rid of the Boora Gohain, an able but imperious minister, who had for some time engrossed all the authority of the state,

removing all who stood in his way or thwarted his views, by putting them to death either publicly or by assassination. The Gohain detected the plot, and the Bor Phokan, being one of the chief conspirators, was obliged to fly. He repaired to Calcutta, and solicited the government to rescue his master from his humiliating and dangerous position. As all interference was declined, he next had recourse to the Burmas, and met with better success, as they sent him back to Asam with a force of six thousand men. The Boora Gohain had died before their arrival, and Chandra Kanta, no longer in need of foreign support against his too-powerful minister, dismissed his allies, with valuable presents; among which was a princess of the royal family for his majesty of Ava. The zeal of the Bor Phokan met with an ungrateful return: the Raja was induced, by the intrigues of another member of the supreme council, the Bor Gohain, and the chief secretary or Bor Barwa, to put him to death. His relations fled to Ava. In the meantime, the son of the late Boora Gohain, inheriting his father's ambition and enmity to the Raja, drew from obscurity a prince of the ruling dynasty, Purandhar Sing, and had influence enough to raise him to the throne. Chandra Kanta was deposed and taken prisoner; but Purandhar Sing was contented with ordering his right ear to be slit, any mutilation being regarded as a flaw in the title of the sovereign of Asam, who had long arrogated the designation of Swarga Raja, or King of Heaven; and was, consequently, supposed to be exempt from any terrestrial imperfections. Chandra Kanta made his escape, and fled to the confines of Bhutan.

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Upon receiving intelligence of the murder of the Bor Phokan, a Burma army was again despatched to Asam. They were encountered by Purandhar Sing, but defeated him; and, ascribing the death of the Phokan less to Chandra Kanta than to his advisers, they put to death the Bor Barwa, whom they had captured, and reinstated the Raja. They then departed, leaving a detachment under a general of celebrity, Mengyee Maha Thilwa, for the defence of Asam. Purandhar Sing, and the Boora Gohain, fled into Bhutan, where they busied themselves in collecting men and arms, and harassing by frequent incursions the Burma invaders.

The union between Chandra Kanta and his allies was of short continuance: alarmed for his life, he withdrew to the western extremity of the valley contiguous to the Company's territories, and assembled around him a considerable body of retainers. In 1821, he had obtained some advantages over the Burmas, and recovered part of his dominions, when a general, afterwards also well-known to the English, Mengyee Maha Bandoola, arrived with reinforcements. Chandra Kanta, unable to make head against him, was forced to fly, and the Burmas took possession of Asam, declaredly as a future dependency of Ava. Their proximity in this quarter was by no means desirable, although they refrained from any act of avowed hostility. The defenceless state of the frontier exposed the inhabitants of Rungpore to the unauthorised depredations of straggling parties, who plundered and burnt the villages, and carried off the villagers as slaves. Strong remonstrances were addressed to the Burma authorities, by whom

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the intention of permitting such outrages was disclaimed; but little pains were taken to prevent their repetition—the perpetrators were unpunished, and no compensation was made to the sufferers. On their part, the Burma officers warned the British functionaries against giving shelter or assistance to any of the fugitives from Asam, and declared their determination to pursue them, if necessary, into the Company's districts. Measures were taken to counteract the threatened pursuit; and a sufficient force was placed at the disposal of the Commissioner on the north-east frontier, Mr. Scott, to protect the boundary from invasion.[1]

The mountainous regions, extending southwards from Asam to the British district of Sylhet, were occupied in a successive series from the west by the Garos, a barbarous race, subject to no paramount authority; by the Kasiyas, also a wild and uncivilised race, but acknowledging the authority of their chiefs; and by a petty principality, that of Jyntia, governed by a Raja. From the latter, an extensive though thinly peopled country, of the same character as the preceding, consisting of hill and forest intersected by numerous small rivers, feeders of the Brahmaputra, and occupied by races more mixed and rather more civilised than their neighbours, constituted the principality of Kachar, spreading round Sylhet, on its northern and eastern confines. Beyond Kachar, and further to the north and north-east, lay wild tracts of uncultivated wilderness, tenanted by a number of barbarous

[1] Buchanan's (Hamilton) Account of Asam.—Annals of Oriental Literature.—Robinson's Asam.—Documents, Burmese War, 5.

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tribes known collectively as Nagas; while on the east, the petty chiefship of Manipur separated Kachar from the Burma dominions. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Manipur was a state holding a prominent place among these semi-civilised communities, and was able to send into the field an army of twenty thousand men. Under a prince, who rather unaccountably bore the Mohammedan designation of Gharib-nawaz, Manipur engaged in a successful war with Ava, overran the Burma territory and planted its victorious standards on the walls of the capital. The murder of the Raja by his son, and the family dissensions which followed, exhausted the energies of Manipur; and the country was shortly afterwards invaded by the Burmas, under one of their most celebrated sovereigns, Alompra, by whom that career of conquest was commenced, which ended in the annexation of Pegu, Arakan, the Shan districts, Manipur and Asam, to the dominions of Ava. In their distress, the Manipur chiefs had recourse for protection to the government of Bengal; and their application was favourably listened to. In 1762, a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the Raja of Manipur and Mr. Verelst, then Governor of Bengal, in virtue of which a small detachment marched from Chittagong, with the declared design not only of enabling the Raja to expel the Burmas from his principality, but of subduing the whole of the Burma country. Six companies of Sipahis were then thought sufficient for so ambitious an enterprise. The advance of the division was retarded by heavy

rains; and, when it reached Kaspur, the capital of Kachar, was enfeebled by sickness induced by the unhealthiness of the climate. It was recalled. An attempt was made in the following year to renew the negociation; but the government of Bengal, now better informed regarding the difficulties of the undertaking, and the little benefit to be derived even from success, declined the alliance. No further intercourse took place. The last Raja, Jay Sing, who retained any power in Manipur, after many disastrous conflicts with his enemies, was suffered to rule in peace over a country almost depopulated and laid waste. Upon his death, in 1799, Manipur was torn to pieces by the contentions of his numerous sons, of whom the greater part perished in their struggle for the ascendancy, leaving three only alive, Chorjit, Marjit, and Gambhir Sing. The first of these made himself Raja in 1806, but was expelled in 1812 by the second, with the assistance of a Burma force. Chorjit fled into Kachar, where he was hospitably received by the Raja, Govind Chandra, and, in requital of his hospitality, succeeded, with the aid of Gambhir Sing, in wresting from his host the greater portion of Kachar. Marjit, after ruling over Manipur for six years, incurred the displeasure of the king of Ava, and was obliged to retire into Kachar, where he found an asylum with his brothers. Consistently with the treacherous character of his race, he soon conspired against Chorjit, and, being joined by Gambhir Sing, the two younger brothers dispossessed the elder of his ill-gotten territory, and compelled him once

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more to become a fugitive. He retired to Sylhet, whither the legitimate ruler of Kachar, Govind Chandra, had previously sought protection and assistance, engaging, if replaced in his principality, to hold it of the British government, under the tenure of allegiance. The offer was refused; and Govind Chandra, through the Raja of Asam, applied to Ava for that succour which the government of India refused to afford him. After some time, the Court of Ava acceded to his propositions; and an army was ordered to move from Manipur into Kachar, to expel or make captives the Manipuri brothers, and replace Govind Chandra in possession of Kachar, on condition of fealty to the Burma monarch. The Government of India now conceived alarm, and deemed it expedient to prevent the near proximity of the Burmas to the Sylhet frontier, by taking Kachar under its own protection. Overtures were addressed in the first instance to the Manipuri chiefs, the two elder of whom were ready to accede to any stipulations; but Gambhir Sing, under a mistaken estimate of his ability to resist the Burmas, hesitated to accept the proffered assistance upon the terms proposed. It was consequently resolved to recur to the legitimate Raja; and Govind Chandra, notwithstanding his pending negociations with the Burmas and his having an agent in their camp, readily broke off the treaty, and concluded an engagement with the government of Bengal. The Manipuri chiefs were conciliated by pensions; and Marjit and Gambhir Sing, the latter of whom had discovered his error, were placed in command of detachments of irregular troops,

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formed principally of their followers and fugitives from Manipur. When the Burma force entered the province, under the impression that they were the allies of its ruler, they were informed that Kachar was already restored to its rightful possessor, and that he was under the protection of the British power. The Burma leaders felt that they had been anticipated; but they expressed no disappointment, as they had only come, they declared, for the same purpose, of restoring Govind Chandra to his authority; but they demanded that the Manipuri brothers should be given up to them; and they called upon the Raja of Jyntia, to acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Ava. As this chief was regarded as a feudatory of Bengal, the call was repudiated; and the Burma officers were informed, that if they attempted to advance into Kachar they would be forcibly opposed. The threat was disregarded, and towards the close of 1823, a Burma force having taken up a position threatening the Sylhet frontier, it was attacked, and actual hostilities were begun, as we shall have further occasion to describe.[1] In the mean time, it will be convenient to revert to the more recent occurrences on the confines of Chittagong.

The vigilance of the local authorities, and the want of any popular leader, had deterred the emigrants from Arakan, who were settled in the Company's territories, from offering any molestation to

[1] Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India, by Capt. R. Boileau Pemberton.—History of Manipur and Kachar.—Documents, Burmese War, App.—Memoir of the Countries on and near the Eastern Frontier of Sylhet, by Lieut. Fisher.

BOOK III. CHAP. I. 1823. their neighbours. Their forbearance had not inspired a similar spirit; and a series of petty and irritating outrages were committed by the Burmas upon the subjects of the British Government, which could have been perpetrated only with the cognisance of the officers of Ava, and the sole apparent object of which was to provoke reciprocity of violence. Repeated attacks were made upon the elephant hunters in the public service; and the people were killed, or carried off and sold as slaves, although following their avocation within the British boundaries. A claim was set up to the possession of a small island at the mouth of the Naf, which had for many years been in the undisputed occupation of the British: tolls were levied upon boats belonging to Chittagong, and, on one occasion, the demand being resisted, the Burmas fired upon the party, and killed the steersman. This act of violence was followed by the assemblage of armed men on the eastern side of the Naf; and universal consternation pervaded the villages in this, the most remote and unprotected portion of the Chittagong district.

The Naf, which constituted the boundary between Chittagong and Arakan, presents, like other rivers on this coast, the character of an inlet of the sea, rather than of a river, rising but a short distance inland, and being an inconsiderable stream, until it approaches the coast, when it expands into an estuary, a mile broad, at the place where it is usually crossed. Lying off this expanse, close to the Chittagong side, and separated from it only by a narrow channel which was fordable at low water, was situated the island of Shahpuri, a spot of

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limited extent and little value, but which, by its local position and the prescription of many years, was undoubtedly an integral part of the British province of Chittagong. Upon this islet, and at Tek Naf, on the adjacent main land, a guard of irregulars was posted, to protect the boats of the Company's subjects from a repetition of the aggression which had been perpetrated. This guard gave great offence to the Burma functionaries; and the headman of Mangdoo, on the Arakan side of the Naf, insisted on its immediate removal, as, if its presence should be made known to the king, it would inevitably occasion a war. Reference was made to his superior, the Viceroy of Arakan, who reiterated the claim to the island as part of the Burma territory, and declared, that if not at once admitted, he should establish it by force. It was proposed to him to investigate the question of right, by commissioners on either side: but before a reply to this proposition was returned, the Raja had carried his threat into execution, carefully promulgating that he acted under orders from the Court. A body of a thousand Burmas landed on Shahpuri, on the night of the 24th September, 1823, easily overpowered the small guard stationed there, killed and wounded several of the party, and drove the rest off the island. As soon as the transaction was known at Calcutta, a detachment of regular troops was sent to re-occupy the island, and dislodge the Burmas; who, however, had previously retired. A letter was, at the same time, addressed to the king, informing him of what had occurred, ascribing it to the unsanctioned presumption of the local officers,

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and expressing an earnest desire to preserve inviolate the amicable relations which had hitherto subsisted; but announcing, that a perseverance in the system of petty insults and encroachments, which had been so long practised, would exceed the limits of forbearance and moderation heretofore observed, and would provoke retaliation. This expostulation was regarded as an additional proof of the backwardness of the British government to engage in hostilities; which was attributed to its dread of the superior power and valour of the Burmas.

The government of Ava was, in fact, resolutely bent upon war. The protection and encouragement given to the emigrants from Arakan, the refusal to deliver them to its vengeance, the asylum afforded to the refugees from Asam and Manipur, and the frustration of its projects on the side of Kachar, had disappointed the revenge and mortified the pride of the Court, and inspired its councils with inveterate animosity towards the Government of Bengal. It entertained no doubt of triumph: the repeated efforts of the British, in spite of every discouragement, to maintain a friendly intercourse; and the successive missions which were despatched, notwithstanding the studied indignity with which the Envoys were treated, confirmed the King and his Ministers in the belief, that the Government of Bengal was conscious of its inability to withstand the superior force and energies of Ava. The success which had long attended the arms of the latter —the annihilation of Pegu, which at one time threatened the extinction of its rival; the easy conquest of Arakan, and the subjugation of Manipur

and Asam, had inflated the arrogance of the whole nation, and had persuaded them that they were irresistible. The Ministers of the State were entirely ignorant of the power and incredulous of the resources of British India; and, although they could not be unaware of the extent of the British possessions, yet, looking upon the natives of India with extreme contempt, they inferred that their subjugation by the English merely proved that the latter were superior to a dastardly and effeminate race, not that they were equal to cope with Burma strength and courage. In fine, they felt assured, that it was reserved for them to rescue Asia from the disgrace of a stranger-yoke, and to drive back the foreigners to the remote island, from which it was understood that they had come.[1]

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[1] The pretensions of Ava to the territories claimed in Bengal were of old date, and were repeatedly urged on Captain Cox, when at Amarapura, in 1797. At the same time, the Burma ministers expressed their opinion of the facility of recovering them, asserting that 3000 men would be sufficient for the purpose.—Cox's Burman Empire, pp. 300, 302, 304. Of the sentiments latterly entertained, authentic information was obtained not only from the official declarations of the public officers, but from the evidence of various Europeans, merchants and missionaries, settled at Amarapura, and, before the war, admitted to the intimacy of the leading persons of the Court. Thus, it is stated by Mr. Laird: "From the King to the beggar, the Burmans were hot for a war with the English." And he mentions having been present at a levee after Maha Bandoola's return from Asam, when he reported his having refrained from following the fugitive Asamese into the British territory, only because they were on terms of amity with his Government, and paid a revenue by their trade with Rangoon; but that if his sovereign wished for Bengal, he would engage to conquer it for him with no other troops thau the strangers dependent upon Ava. Dr. Judson, an American missionary, who had resided ten years in the country, and was well acquainted with the language, states, that on his first visit to the capital, he heard the desire to go to war with the English, universally expressed by the principal persons of the administration, and especially by the members of the royal family. Their language is thus repeated by him: "The English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance, to dethrone kings, and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern

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The occupation of Shahpuri by a military force, had the effect of arresting for a time the hostile demonstrations of the Burmas on the Chittagong frontier; but an actual contest had commenced, as above noticed, on the borders of Sylhet. Undeterred by the remonstrances of the British authorities, a body of four thousand Burmas and Asamese entered the northern frontier of Kachar from Asam, by the Bharteka Pass, and entrenched themselves at Bikrampur, about forty-five miles east of Sylhet, while a more considerable force advanced from Manipur on the east, and defeated Gambhir Sing, who had attempted to stop their march. In order to prevent the junction of these two divisions, a detachment of the 14th and 46th Regiments of Native Infantry, with four companies of the Rungpore Local Corps and a few guns, which had been previously posted so as to cover the Sylhet frontier, was concentrated under Major Newton, at Jatrapur, a village about five miles beyond the boundary, and marched against the Burma force at Bikrampur. At daybreak, on the 17th January, 1824, the troops came in sight of the stockade, which was yet unfinished, and were led immediately to the attack. After some resistance, the entrenchment was carried, and the Burmas were put to the rout; but as the strength of the detachment did not permit

the black foreigners, the people of castes, who have puny frames, and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmas, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of manifesting our bravery, it will be an example to the black nations, which are now slaves to the English, and will encourage them to throw off the yoke." A prediction was also current, that the heir apparent, a boy of about eleven years of age, when arrived at manhood, should rule over the country of the strangers.—Documents, Burmese War, 223, 229.

of an active pursuit, they speedily rallied and effected their junction with the force from Manipur. Major Newton, having fallen back within the British boundary, the Burmas advanced to Jatrapur, and constructed stockades on either bank of the Surma river, connecting them by a bridge. Their united force amounted to about six thousand, of whom two thousand were Burmas, the rest Kacharis and Asamese. Being undisturbed in their position, they pushed their stockades along the north bank of the Surma to within a thousand yards of a British post, at Bhadrapur, where Captain Johnstone was stationed with a wing of the 14th, one company of the 23d, and a small party of the Rungpore Militia. This audacity was not suffered to pass with impunity; and on the 13th of February, Captain Johnstone attacked and carried the stockades at the point of the bayonet. The Asamese division retreated to their original position, at the foot of the Bharteka Pass; the Manipur, to a strong entrenchment at Dudhpatli. The former were followed by Lieut.-Colonel Bowen, in command of the Sylhet frontier, and were driven in disorder into Asam: the latter were then attacked, but with a different result. The Burma stockade was situated on the north bank of the Surma, the rear resting on hills covered with thickets, and a deep ditch was dug on either flank, the exterior bank of which was defended by strong bamboo spikes. The Burmas permitted the troops to advance unmolested to the edge of the ditch, but while they were there detained by the bamboo fence, poured upon them a well maintained fire of match-

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locks and musquets, by which one officer, Lieut. Armstrong, 10th Native Infantry, was killed, four others were wounded, and a hundred and fifty Sipahis were killed and wounded. The attack was relinquished, and the force was withdrawn to Jatrapur, where Lieut.-Colonel Innes arrived on the 27th of February, with an additional regiment, the 28th, and assumed the command. The Burmas, satisfied with the laurels they had won, abandoned the stockade at Dudhpatli, and returned to Manipur. Kachar was, therefore, freed from their presence; but the events of this partial struggle had been more creditable to their prowess, than that of their opponents. The British force was, in fact, too weak to contend with the superior numbers and the confidence of the invaders.

When the Prince of Tharawadi, the brother of the King of Ava, was assured that the Burma soldiers would be unable to face the British in the field, he replied, "We are skilled in making trenches and stockades, which the English do not understand"; and he was satisfied that the national mode of fighting would be more than a match for European discipline. He was not altogether mistaken: and the singular quickness and dexterity with which the Burmas constructed entrenchments and stockades, although unavailing against the steady intrepidity of British troops and the resources of military science, materially retarded the operations of the war, and occasioned serious embarrassment and loss. To such an extent did this practice prevail, that a hoe or spade was as essential a part of the equipment of a Burma soldier, as his musquet and sabre, and each

man, as the line advanced, dug a hole in the ground deep enough to give him shelter, and from which he fired in fancied security. This manœuvre stood him in little stead against the resolute forward movement of the British troops; and he was speedily unearthed before he was allowed an opportunity of doing mischief. It was different with the stockades. These were generally square or oblong enclosures, varying in area according to the force which held them, and were sometimes of very spacious extent. The defences also varied according to the means at hand, and the time allowed for their construction; and sometimes consisted of solid beams of teak timber previously prepared, or sometimes of green bamboos and young trees cut down from the forest, which was every where at hand. They were planted close together in the ground, and bound together at the top by transverse beams, leaving embrasures and loop-holes through which the defenders might fire on the assailants without being exposed. The height varied from ten or twelve to seventeen or twenty feet; and platforms were fixed in the interior, or the earth was thrown up into an embankment, from which the garrison might overtop the paling, and on which gingals or guns of small calibre, carrying a ball of six or twelve ounces, might be planted. Occasionally, an outer and an inner ditch added to the defences, and outworks of minor stockades, or abattis of the trunks of trees and bamboo spikes, enhanced the difficulty of access to the main body of the structure. The nature of the materials, especially when consisting of green timber or trees recently lopped, enabled

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them to resist the effects of a cannonade better than more solid substances, although the balls did pass between them, and sometimes tear them asunder. Shells and rockets were the most effective means of annoyance: but they were not used at first to an adequate extent, and reliance was principally placed on the physical strength and resolute daring of the soldier, who, with or without the aid of ladders, was expected to force an entrance. The European seldom disappointed this expectation: the Sipahi, unsupported, never realised it; and the former was, on more than one occasion, repulsed with very serious loss of life. Once within the palisade, the stockade was carried, for the Burma garrison then thought only of flight; in effecting which, through the one or two gateways left in the enclosure, they generally suffered severely. Their courage also sometimes failed them before waiting for an assault, especially as the war was prolonged, and the repeated destruction of their entrenchments diminished their confidence in their efficacy. Stockades which could not have been forced without difficulty were found abandoned, and their inadequacy to arrest the march of a European army, was recognised by those to whom they had originally afforded assurance of security.

While actual hostilities were thus commenced in the north, indications of their near occurrence were manifested in the south. The Raja of Arakan was ordered to expel the English at any cost from Shahpuri; and the most renowned of the Burma generals, Maha Bandoola, was sent to take the command of the forces assembled in the province. A

body of troops was assembled at Mangdoo, from whence commissioners, who had been deputed from Ava, proceeded to take formal possession of the disputed island, which had been abandoned for a time by the British, on account of the unhealthiness of the post. The Burma Commissioners also contrived, under pretext of negociation, to seize the person of the commander of a pilot schooner which had been stationed off Shahpuri, who somewhat incautiously trusted himself among the Burmas. No personal injury was inflicted; and, after a detention of some weeks, he was set at liberty, with such of his crew as had attended him on shore; his apprehension being intended to compel the removal of his vessel. The spirit of these measures, and the certain knowledge that hostile armies were preparing to assail various parts of the frontier, left the Governor-General no alternative: war was inevitable; and, agreeably to the usage of civilised nations, the grounds on which it was declared by the British government were made known in a proclamation addressed to the different states and powers of India.[1] Its promulgation was followed

[1] See Appendix No. 1. For the following narrative of the occurrences of the war, the principal authorities are the official despatches, and other public papers, collected and published under the authority of the Government of Bengal by the author—Documents illustrative of the Burmese War. Calcutta, 1827. For the operations in Ava, we have also the relations of different officers who were present, and employed in stations which gave them the means of obtaining accurate information; namely—Two years in Ava, by Lieutenant Trant, of the Quarter-Master General's Department.—Narrative of the Burmese War, by Major Snodgrass, Military Secretary to the Commander of the Expedition; and Memoir of the Three Campaigns in Ava, by Lieutenant Havelock, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General. For the operations in other quarters, we have incidental notices in Crawfurd's Mission to Ava, and in Lieutenant Pemberton's Memoir of the Frontier, and various papers in the Monthly Asiatic Journal.

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As soon as it was determined to have recourse to hostile measures, the attention of the government of India was directed to the consideration of the most efficacious mode of carrying on the war. The extended line of frontier to the east had afforded to the armies of Ava practicable routes for crossing the confines; and the same openings, it was to be inferred, were available for penetrating into the Burma dominions. Nothing of them was known, however, beyond their general direction through difficult and unhealthy tracts, thinly peopled and partially cultivated, and destitute of all the supplies and facilities which were indispensable for the march and subsistence of disciplined armies. A horde of barbarians, unincumbered with baggage, lightly equipped, carrying with them the coarse and scanty provisions which sufficed for their sustenance, familiar with the country, and inured to the climate, might make their way over a long succession of forests and hills and swamps; but a force moving with all the appurtenances of modern warfare, could only hope to effect a passage along the rivers, and through the thickets of Asam, over the miry and forest-covered hills of Kachar, and across the wide estuaries of Arakan, by an im-

mense expenditure of time and treasure, and by an equal prodigality of both animal and human life. A more ready access to the Burma dominions was presented by the Irawadi river flowing past the capital, and falling into the sea a few miles only below the chief maritime city of the empire, Rangoon. The occupation of this emporium would, it was urged, be of itself a main blow against the resources of the enemy, whilst it offered to an invading army abundance of cattle for carriage and food, and ample means of equipping a flotilla sufficient to convey the troops up the river, even to the capital. An expedition arriving at Rangoon shortly before the setting in of the south-west monsoon would, it was affirmed, enjoy favourable opportunities for such a navigation, as there would be a sufficient depth of water for boats of heavy burthen; and strong breezes from the south-west, which would carry the boats upwards against the stream. Such was the practice pursued by boats employed in the internal traffic of Ava; and, under such circumstances, a British force might be conveyed to Amarapura, a distance of five hundred miles, in the course of a month or five weeks.[1] These considerations,

[1] These views were in part founded upon statements in Symes's Embassy, as:—"In the months of June, July, and August, the navigation of the Irawadi would be impracticable, were it not counteracted by the strength of the south-west monsoon: assisted by this wind, and cautiously keeping within the eddies of the banks, the Burmans use their sails, and frequently make a more expeditious passage at this than at any other season." p. 55. The Government of Bengal was chiefly influenced by the opinions of Captain Canning, which his repeated missions to Rangoon entitled to consideration. He strongly asserted the practicability of the river navigation, as well as the certainty of procuring supplies. That his information proved fallacious, was in a great measure owing to the precautionary measures of the Burmas; for the counteraction of which no preparation had been made.

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founded upon information of an authentic character, induced the government of Bengal to limit their military movements on the frontier, to the expulsion of the Burmas from the territories they had overrun in Asam and Kachar, to remain on the defensive in the direction of Chittagong, and employ the conjoint resources of the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, in an invasion of Ava, by the line of the Irawadi.[1]

The repugnance of the native troops of Bengal to embark on board ship, rendered it impossible to employ their services to any adequate extent: and the main force despatched from that Presidency consisted of Europeans, being formed of His Majesty's 13th and 38th Regiments and two Companies of Artillery, with one Regiment of Native Infantry, the 40th, forming the marine battalion. The same objection did not prevail at Madras; and the native regiments there vied with each other, in an honourable competition, to be selected for foreign service.

[1] The plan was adopted by Lord Amherst and his council, in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, who was in the Upper Provinces; but it had his concurrence. On the 24th Nov. 1823, the Adjutant-General thus writes to the Government: "The Commander-in-Chief can hardly persuade himself, that if we place our frontier in even a tolerable state of defence, any very serious attempt will be made by the Burmas to pass it; but should he be mistaken in this opinion, he is inclined to hope that our military operations on the eastern frontier will be confined to their expulsion from our territories, and to the re-establishment of those states along our line of frontier which have been overrun and conquered by the Burmese. Any military attempt beyond this, upon the internal dominions of the King of Ava, he is inclined to deprecate; as instead of armies, fortresses, and cities, he is led to believe we should find nothing but jungle, pestilence and famine. It appears to the Commander-in-Chief, that the only effectual mode of punishing the insolence of this power, is, by maritime means; and the question then arises, how troops are to be created for the purpose of attacking the vulnerable parts of his coast."—Documents, Burmese War, 21.

Their emulation was seconded and encouraged by the activity of the local government, under the direction of Sir Thomas Munro; and a formidable force, both European and Native, was assembled at Madras, in the course of February, consisting of two King's Regiments, the 41st and 89th, the Madras European Regiment, and seven Native Regiments, with detachments of Pioneers and Artillery. The Bengal and Madras divisions, comprising collectively above eleven thousand men, of whom one-half were Europeans, were placed under the chief command of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell: the Madras force was commanded by Colonel Macbean, and the Bengal by Colonel M'Creagh: all three officers had served with distinction in the Spanish campaign, under the Duke of Wellington. The transports were convoyed by His Majesty's sloops of war, the Larne and Sophia, with several of the Company's cruisers: a flotilla of twenty gun-brigs, and as many war-boats, each carrying a piece of heavy ordnance, accompanied the expedition; and the Diana, a small steam-vessel, first presented to the barbarous races on the east of the Bay of Bengal, the mysterious working of a navigable power making head against winds and waves, without sails or oars, and impelled by an unseen and incomprehensible agency, which the superstition of the natives ascribed to something more than human art. Captain Canning was appointed to accompany the force as Political Agent and Joint Commissioner with the Commander-in-chief.

The Bengal expedition, and the first division of

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the Madras force, met at the end of April, at the appointed place of rendezvous, the spacious and picturesque harbour of Port Cornwallis, situated in the largest of the Andaman islands, a little to the south of the mouth of the Irawadi. The fleet was here joined by the Liffey frigate, with Commodore Grant on board, who, as chief naval officer in the Indian seas, took the command. On the 5th of May, the fleet resumed its progress, and arrived on the 9th off the mouth of the Rangoon river. On the following day, the ships crossed the bar, and working up the stream with the flood-tide, anchored opposite to Rangoon on the morning of the 11th. No opposition was experienced on the passage. No preparations for defence had been made. No attack in this quarter had been anticipated; and the appearance of the hostile squadron filled the Burmas with equal astonishment and alarm.

The Irawadi, after a course of about nine hundred miles from its source on the southern face of the mountains forming the south-eastern boundary of Asam, divides, like the Ganges, as it approaches the sea, into a number of anastomosing branches, forming an intricate net-work of channels of varying breadth and depth, and constituting a delta, of which the Bassein river, or branch, may be regarded as the western limit, and the Rangoon river, communicating with the river of Pegu, as the eastern boundary. The town of Rangoon stands near the apex of a fork, between two branches of the Irawadi, one running for a short distance to the west, before it turns off to the north, the other to the east. The former is considered to be more especially

the river of Rangoon, which is here about eight hundred yards wide. The other, which is smaller, is the river of Syriam, a city of Pegu, formerly a place of commercial activity, and the site of a Portuguese factory: Rangoon had risen to prosperity upon its decline. Opposite to Rangoon, on the right bank of the river, was situated Dalla, a town of some extent. Rangoon itself stood upon the left, or northern bank. Its defences were contemptible. A quadrangular stockade of teak timbers, about twelve feet high, enclosed the whole of the town, protected on one face by the river, and on the other three sides by a shallow creek leading from the river, and expanding at the north-western angle, into a morass, which was crossed by a bridge. Each face of the stockade was provided with gates; and, exteriorly to the river-gate, was a landing place or wharf, on which the principal battery of twelve guns of different calibres was mounted. As soon as the Liffey, leading the fleet, had cast anchor off the wharf, the Burmas opened a fire, which a few shots from the frigate effectually silenced, dismounting the whole of the guns, and putting the gunners to flight. The troops were immediately disembarked: their landing was unopposed, and they took possession of Rangoon without seeing an enemy. A message had been received from the Rewoon or Governor, demanding to know what the English wanted, and threatening to put to death such Europeans as were in his hands, unless the firing ceased. It was brought by an American missionary; but before the messenger could return, the Rewoon with his subordinates had disappeared, carrying along with

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him his European and American captives, individuals who had settled at Rangoon for religious or commercial objects.[1] They were kept in confinement, and repeatedly menaced with instant death; but, in the alarm and hurry which prevailed, were finally left behind, and were found and set at liberty by their countrymen. They constituted the sole population of Rangoon, as the general panic and the rigorous measures of the authorities had completely cleared the town of its native inhabitants.

As soon as intelligence was received at Rangoon of the appearance of the British vessels off the mouth of the river, the Burma functionaries, aware of their inability to attempt resistance, adopted at once the policy most fitting in their condition, and admirably calculated to baffle, if not ultimately to foil, the objects of the invasion. The whole population of Rangoon were commanded to abandon their homes, and seek refuge in the adjacent forests. The command was strictly enforced; but it was obeyed without reluctance. The people had little to lose in abandoning their bamboo huts; and they entertained an excessive dread of the ferocity of Europeans. They felt also implicit confidence in the irresistible power of their Government, and looked forward to the speedy expulsion of the intruders, and their triumphant return to their habitations. That they were influenced by such feelings, and that their expatriation was not

[1] Lieutenant Havelock specifies them as eight British traders and pilots, two missionaries, and an Armenian and a Greek.

wholly compulsory, was evident from the prolongation of their absence, and the tardiness and hesitation with which they re-peopled the place when it was in the occupation of the British, and when there was no native authority on the spot to punish them for submission to an enemy. The British were thus the masters of a deserted town; and all the advantages expected from a productive country, and numerous population, abundance of supplies, and means of ascending the river, were wholly deficient. The hopelessness of an advance into the interior was at once apparent; and it was obvious, that, in the approaching rainy season, when the country would become impassable, the operations of the campaign must be limited to the immediate vicinity of Rangoon. It was discovered, in short, that a serious error had been committed; and that, however judicious might be the plan of attacking the empire of Ava by sea, the time had been ill-chosen, and the scheme of operations injudiciously devised. The exposure of so large a body of troops to the tropical rains in incommodious and imperfectly covered boats, through a navigation of five hundred miles, with both banks of the river in the possession of the enemy, could only have ended in the disorganisation and destruction of the force, even if such a mode of attempting an offensive movement had been possible. Its practicability under any circumstances might well be doubted; but as events had turned out, there was no room for uncertainty. As neither boats nor boatmen were to be procured, an advance by water was impracticable, and in the like want of land carriage, as well

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as in the inundated state of the country, the army was incapable of undertaking any protracted march by land. It was evident, therefore, that all that could be done, was to place the troops under cover until the ensuing cold season, and to collect with the least possible delay the provisions and supplies, of which Rangoon was totally destitute, and which were only to be obtained from the distant settlements of Calcutta and Madras.

The stockade surrounding Rangoon, however inadequate as a defence against European artillery, was a sufficient protection against any attacks of the Burmas; and the head-quarters and general staff, with the stores and ammunition, were therefore located in the most commodious and secure of the dwellings, which were mostly constructed of mats and timber. At a distance of about two miles to the north of Rangoon, rose the imposing temple of Shwe-da-gon, the Golden Pagoda, a Buddhist shrine of great size, and highly reputed sanctity, constructed on the same plan as the Buddhist temples in other parts of India, but of more than ordinary dimensions and splendour. That part of it, which was in a more especial degree the sacred portion of the edifice, being supposed to enshrine various precious reliques of the Buddhist saints,[1] was a gradually diminishing cone rising from an octagonal base to the height of above 300 feet,

[25] Underneath this mass are said to be deposited relics of the four last Buddhas, the staff of Krakuchhanda, the water-pot of Gunaguna, the bathing-robe of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama, or Sakyasinha.—Translation of the Inscription on the Great Bell at Shwe-da-gon, by the Rev. Mr. Hough.—Asiatic Researches, xvi. 270.

and terminating in a spire surmounted by a Tee or umbrella of open iron-work, from which sprang a slender shaft, with a gilded pennant. The building was solid and of brick-work, but coated throughout with gilding, and decorated with ornamented mouldings and miniature multiples of itself. It stood upon the summit of an artificial mound, about thirty feet high,[1] divided into two quadrangular terraces, supported by walls, and ascended on either front by stone steps. The upper terrace was nine hundred feet long by six hundred and eighty-five broad; and both the terraces and the sides of the steps were covered with a multitude of small structures, chapels and shrines and cells of the priests, and sheds for pilgrims, and grotesque figures, and ornamental columns, and large brass bells: all, except the latter, made of wood, elaborately carved, and richly painted or gilt. The priests had departed with their flocks, and the site of Shwe-da-gon formed an important military outwork, in which His Majesty's 69th Regiment and the Madras Artillery were posted. Two roads leading from the northern gateways connected Rangoon with the Pagoda: the sides of the roads were lined by a number of small temples and houses, the residences of Pungis or Buddhist priests, affording convenient cantonments for the

[1] This is the height given by Colonel Symes. There are some singular discrepancies in this elevation; Captain Snodgrass stating it to be 75 feet above the road; and Lieutenant Trant, 200 above the river; and the lowest number of the steps, according to Mr. Hough, is 80, which cannot give much less than 70 feet: these may, perhaps, be reconcilable. Lieutenant Havelock differs from the rest also as to the height of the central building, which he reduces to 130 feet; but this must be a typographical error, as every other authority makes it above 300.

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troops, as they were deserted by their owners. Accordingly, along the most northerly of the two which ran over the summit of a line of low elevations, quarters were found for the Bengal division, their left resting upon the great Pagoda, their right upon Rangoon. Upon the more southern road, which was a uniform level, were ranged the cantonments of the Madras brigade, facing towards the river; and, consequently, having their right supported by the Pagoda, their left by the town. In front of both lines, extended interminable thickets, interrupted occasionally by swamps, which in the rains were swollen into deep and unfordable ponds and lakes. A dense forest coming close to the foot of the elevation on which it stood, intervened between the Great Pagoda and the river. Low elevations, covered with thickets and intermixed with morasses, extended round it in other directions. The whole face of the country was most unpropitious to the evolutions of disciplined troops. While these dispositions were in progress, detachments were sent out to explore the neighbourhood, discover and beat up the enemy's posts, and endeavour to bring back the fugitive population. Parties were also sent in the men-of-war's boats up the river, to reconnoitre any defences the Burmas might have constructed, and destroy any armed boats or fire-rafts they might meet with. In one of these latter excursions, the boats of the Liffey, with the Grenadier Company of the 38th, came upon an unfinished stockade at the village of Kemendine, about sixty miles from Rangoon, which they attacked and stormed, notwithstanding it was

defended by a greatly superior number of the enemy who behaved with spirit; and success was not attained without loss. A stronger detachment commanded by General Macbean marched on the same day into the interior, and fell in with the Governor of Rangoon. The Burmas fled into the thickets; and no traces of population could be detected. Although no enemy appeared in force, yet indications were manifest of his accumulating numbers and increasing audacity; and it was evident, that the approaching season would not be passed in inactivity, although it would not admit of offensive movements of importance. The rains set in with great violence in the middle of May; and the vicinity of Rangoon was quickly overspread by extensive inundations.

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CHAPTER II.

Operations against the Burmas, — in Asam, — in Kachar, — at Chittagong. — Detachment posted at Ramoo. — Burmas cross the frontier in great Force. — Inferiority of the British, — attacked by the Enemy. — Misconduct of the Irregulars, — Retreat and Flight of the Sipahis. — Great Alarm at Chittagong and Calcutta. — Inactivity of the Burmas. — Subsidence of the Panic. — Negrais and Cheduba reduced. — The British Lines at Rangoon harassed by the Burmas, — Detachment sent against them, — unfavourable State of

the Country.—Burma Force encountered.—Stockades stormed.—Attack on stockade at Kemendine.—Repulsed.—Burma Messengers,—object to gain Time.—Troops sent against Kemendine,—Entrenchment on the way carried by Storm,—great Slaughter.—Kemendine evacuated by the Enemy,—occupied permanently by the British.—Sickness of the Troops,—Unhealthiness of the Season,—Deficiency and Unwholesomeness of Food,—Mortality.—Re-appearance of the Burmas,—Defeat of part of their Force,—Affair at Dalla.—Stockades at the Confluence of the Rangoon and Lyne Rivers,—attacked by the Flotilla with Troops on board, and stormed.—Land Column attack Stockades at Kamrut,—seven Stockades,—two principal stormed, the rest abandoned.—Burma Commander among the killed—Country inundated,—Expeditions by Water,—against Syriam,—Dalla,—and by Sea against Tavoy,—Mergui,—Ye,—and Martaban.—Attempt to recover the Shwe-da-gon by the "Invulnerables,"—War-boats captured.—Stockades on the River bank destroyed.—Madras Troops sent against Kyklu,—repulsed with loss.—A second Detachment sent against the Place,—found abandoned.—Entrenchments at Thantabain on the Lyne River, taken and destroyed.—Force enfeebled by sickness.—Approach of Maha Bandoola with Sixty Thousand Men.—British Force surrounded.—Burmas suffered to advance: their Left attacked and defeated,—repulsed at Kemendine,—their Right attacked and routed.—Grand Army dispersed,—Rally at Kokien.—Attempts to burn Rangoon,—baffled.—Entrenchments at Kokien

attacked and stormed.—Successes of the Flotilla. Bandoola retreats to Donabew,—altered objects of the Campaign on the part of the Burmas.

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WHILE the principal manifestation of the British power was directed against Rangoon, the expulsion of the Burmas from the frontier countries which they had invaded, was attempted with but partial success. A force collected in Asam, under Brigadier General Mc Morine,[1] moved from Goalpara, on the 13th of March; and advanced to Gohati, where the Burmas had thrown up stockades, but abandoned them on the approach of the force. The people of the country, who had been treated by the Burmas with the most unsparing cruelty, cordially welcomed the arrival of their deliverers; but their unwarlike character and miserable condition, rendered their co-operation of little value; and the great difficulty of procuring supplies, as well as the labour of traversing a country devoid of roads, overrun with jungle, and broken up by swamps and water-courses, compelled the Brigadier to suspend his advance, sending forward a detachment of five companies of the 46th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richards, to meet the Commissioner, who had arrived at Noagong, from Sylhet, across the Jyntia hills. Reinforced by Mr. Scott's escort, Colonel Richards moved on to Kaliabar,

[1] It consisted of seven companies of the 46th N. I, and six of the Rungpore Local Corps, the Dinapore Local battalion, a wing of the Champaran Local Corps, three brigades of six-pounders, and a small body of Irregular Horse, besides a gun-boat flotilla on the Brahmaputra.

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and compelled the Burmas to continue their retreat in an easterly direction to Maura Mukh. There the Governor of Asam with a force of not more than a thousand men had stockaded himself; but Colonel Richards, who, in consequence of the death of Brigadier McMorine, had succeeded to the chief command, was unable for want of supplies to follow up his advantage. He returned, therefore, to Gohati; and as the rainy season set in, no further movement of any importance, on either side, was practicable. The expulsion of the Burmas from Upper Asam was consequently deferred.

The Burmas, as we have seen, had withdrawn from Kachar in the beginning of the year; but it was only to return in greater force. In the beginning of June, they repeated their incursions from Manipur, eight thousand strong, and they gave out that they formed only the van of a more formidable armament. They advanced to the heights of Talain, Dudhpatli, and Jatrapur, and stockaded themselves in their former positions. The weak division of native troops, which had been left at Sylhet, under Lieut.-Colonel Innes, advanced on the 27th June against the Burma stockade, at Talain, on the bank of the Barak river. An attempt was made to dislodge the enemy; but their superior numbers and the strength of the position rendered it unsuccessful. The division retreated to Bhadrapur; and as the increasing inclemency of the weather suspended all operations, the Burmas retained their occupation of Kachar.

The troops assembled for the protection of the south-eastern frontier were concentrated at Chitta-

gong under Colonel Shapland,[1] and a detachment was thrown forward to Ramoo, under the command of Captain Noton, consisting of five Companies of the 45th Native Infantry, with two guns, and details from the Mug levy and Chittagong provincial battalion. Neither the numerical strength of the detachment, nor the quality of the troops, fitted it for so exposed a position, of the extreme peril of which, the authorities in Bengal seem to have been ill-informed. In like manner, as the Government of Bengal had directed its principal blow against what it deemed the most vulnerable point of the Burma dominions, the Court of Ava had, with great judgment, directed its main effort against the most feebly defended and easily accessible part of the British frontier. A force of more than ten thousand men was ordered to move through Arakan upon Chittagong, and the command was given to Maha Bandoola. The assemblage of this large body under a general who was known to have been a strenuous advocate of the war, and bore a high reputation for courage and enterprise, was well known both in Chittagong and Calcutta: but the strength of the force and the character of the leader were strangely undervalued; and it was believed, that the weak division at Chittagong was sufficient not only for the defence of the province, but even for the subjugation of Arakan. This misappreciation of the danger which impended over the frontier, could only be

[1] The Chittagong division was formed of the left wing of the 27th, N.I., five Companies of the 40th, and the 1st battalion of the 45th, a Provincial battalion, and a Mug levy, a corps of natives of Arakan recently enrolled.

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explained by a mistaken estimate of the inefficiency of the Burma equipment, and the pre-occupation of the Government by the expedition to Rangoon. Whatever was the cause, the inadequacy of the defensive arrangements in this quarter was signally punished; and the consequences might have been still more disastrous, if the Burma general had continued his movements with the spirit with which they were commenced.

The army of Arakan made its appearance on the Chittagong frontier in the beginning of May, nearly simultaneously with the arrival of the British expedition at Rangoon. The Burmas crossed the Naf, and advanced to Retnapalang, within fourteen miles of Ramoo, where the force, actually mustering eight thousand men, was concentrated under the four Rajas of Arakan, Ramri, Sandoway, and Cheduba, acting under the orders of Maha Bandoola, who remained with a reserve at Arakan. On the 13th of May, they advanced to a small river flowing past Ramoo, but were prevented from crossing it by the fire of the two six-pounders of Captain Noton's detachment. On the 15th of May, they effected the passage. To oppose them, Captain Noton had not above three hundred and fifty regular Infantry, even after being joined on the 11th by Captain Trueman with three weak Companies of the 40th: he had also with him two hundred and fifty provincials, and four hundred of the Mug levy; but their evident unsteadiness, as the hour of encounter approached, shewed that no reliance could be placed upon any except the regular troops. His force was drawn up by Captain Noton behind a bank sur-

rounding the encampment: his right was flanked by the river. About sixty paces in front was a tank, at which a strong picquet was stationed. At another tank to the rear, upon his left, were posted the Provincials, and the Mug levy: the regular Sipahis with the six-pounders formed his front. The Burmas took possession of a tank to the left of the encampment, surrounded as usual by a high bank which screened them in some degree from the fire of the detachment; and from which they pushed forward in their usual manner, sheltering themselves by burrowing in the ground, until on the morning of the 17th, they were within twelve paces of the picquets, with whom they exchanged a smart fire. The Provincials stationed at the tank on the left could no longer be kept to their post: they fled, and were followed by the levy. The tank was immediately occupied by the Burmas, who had spread into the rear; and the position was untenable. A retreat was ordered, and for a short time conducted with some degree of regularity, until the party arrived at the bank of a small rivulet, when the men, harassed by the superior numbers and increasing boldness of the enemy, threw away their arms, and plunged in a disorderly crowd into the water. In the retreat, Captains Noton, Trueman, and Pringle, Lieutenant Grigg, Ensign Bennett, and Assistant-Surgeon Maysmore, were killed. Lieutenants Scott, Campbell, and Codrington escaped, the two former being wounded. Many of the Sipahis made their way in scattered parties to Chittagong, and the whole number missing were about two hundred and fifty,

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some of whom were sent prisoners to Ava, where they confirmed the Court in their opinion of the irresistible prowess of their soldiers, and in the confidence of their ultimate triumph. Nor were these notions wholly unshared by the inhabitants of the British provinces; and Chittagong and Dacca were filled with consternation. The panic spread even to Calcutta; and however absurd the supposition, it was thought to be not impossible that a Burma force might penetrate through the Sunderbans to the metropolis of British India. Weak as was the detachment at Chittagong, a rapid movement of the Burmas might have compelled its retreat; and Chittagong, and perhaps Dacca, might have been taken and destroyed; but the opportunity was lost in idle exultation. Before operations were resumed, the setting-in of the rains rendered the roads impassable; and the reinforcements, which might have prevented the disaster at Ramoo, reached Chittagong early in June, and placed it out of danger.[1] The occupation of Rangoon had now also become a source of anxiety to the Court of Ava; and, although they affected to look upon it as a trap into which the invading armament had fallen, they found it necessary to recall their general and the choicest of their troops from Arakan to punish the intruders. The Arakan force consequently retired from Chittagong; and the alarm which the late defeat had inspired yielded to a sense of security. The disaster at Ramoo reflected

[1] His Majesty's 44th, from Calcutta, and 15th, N.I., from Dacca; two Regiments of N.I. also arrived from Madras, besides cruizers and gun-boats.

no dishonour on the British officers and regular troops. The misconduct and flight of the irregulars rendered the conflict hopeless against numbers, whose superiority required the same steady valour which the regular troops displayed in every individual of the entire division, to have been successfully withstood.

While the expedition was pursuing its course to the Irawadi, detachments had been sent to reduce Negrais and Cheduba, under the respective commands of Major Wahab and Brigadier Mc Creagh. They rejoined the army at Rangoon early in June, having effected their objects. At the former, a stockade was stormed, and carried without loss, and some guns were captured: but no advantage appeared likely to result from the permanent possession of the island, which was found to be of inconsiderable extent and covered with impenetrable thicket. It was abandoned. Cheduba proved to be of more importance, and some resistance was experienced from a strong stockade which defended the chief town: it was, however, carried by storm. Of the Burma garrison, a great number, including their commander, were killed, and the rest crossed over to the main land. The Raja was subsequently taken, and sent a prisoner to Fort William. Colonel Mc Creagh then proceeded to Rangoon with His Majesty's 13th, which had formed part of the detachment, leaving the 20th Native Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Hampton, and His Majesty's sloop Slaney, to retain the occupation of the island, the inhabitants of which readily submitted to British rule.

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The divisions that rejoined the main body found, that, notwithstanding the unpropitious state of the weather, neither the British commander nor the Burma leaders intended to suffer it to be a season of inactivity. The latter had been joined by considerable reinforcements, and had commenced constructing stockades in every direction, so as to cut off the communication with the interior; while by night and day they kept up a harassing succession of attacks upon the picquets, sending parties through the jungle, who approached unperceived close to the sentinels, and killed any stragglers whom they found off their guard. Fire rafts were also frequently sent down the stream, against whose mischievous effects it required the unceasing vigilance and activity of the seamen to defend the numerous vessels off Rangoon. In order to check these annoyances, and feel the strength of the Burmas, a reconnoissance was made by General Campbell on the 26th May, with four Companies of Europeans, two of the 13th, and two of the 38th, amounting to four hundred men, and two hundred and fifty Sipahis, and a gun and howitzer, from the Bengal Artillery. The path led at times through a close forest, and was obstructed, not only by natural impediments, but by trees, felled and strewn across it; and where it opened, it came upon fields of rice and plains knee-deep in water. Rain fell heavily, and the fatigue of dragging the guns became so great, that the cattle and men were completely exhausted when they had marched but about five miles from Rangoon. They were consequently sent back under the escort of the native soldiers,

and General Campbell resumed his route with his handful of Europeans alone. At the distance of about eight miles, a body of the enemy, estimated at seven thousand strong was discovered, having their front defended by two entrenchments, breast high, with an interior ditch. Disposing one company so as to keep the main force in check, the other assailed the stockades; and the men forced their way in by tearing down the stakes, or clambering over them, with the assistance of each other. The Burmas stood their ground for some short time, and a conflict hand to hand ensued, in which the superior hardihood and vigour of the European prevailed over barbarian courage; and the bayonet in the hands of the latter, proved a weapon, against which the heavy sword and short spear of the former were unavailing. A frightful carnage took place; the survivors fled into the forest, and the stockades were set on fire. The troops were then drawn up against the main body, but no disposition was shewn by them to revenge the capture of the stockades, and the division slowly and unmolested returned to its cantonments. The British loss was comparatively inconsiderable.[1] On the following morning, Brigadier Macbean, with two regiments, marched towards the post occupied by the Burmas; but no traces of them were observable. Another stockade was discovered, and stormed on

[1] One officer, Lieutenant Howard of the 13th, was killed, and two Lieutenants, Michel and O'Halloran, of the 38th, were severely wounded: the former died a few days afterwards. Nine rank and file were killed, and twenty-five wounded. Of the Burmas, above three hundred dead bodies were found in the stockades and adjacent fields.—Despatch, Sir A. Campbell, 1st June. Documents, 55 A.

BOOK III. CHAP. II. the morning of the 30th, not far from the Great Pagoda.

1824. The capture of their stockades on the 28th and 30th June, had no effect in discouraging the Burmas from their plan of surrounding the British troops in Rangoon, and either destroying them, or compelling them to surrender. Preparations on a large scale were begun, and works of great extent and strength were constructed at Kemendine, against which it was determined to make a joint attack from the shore and from the river. Three columns marched against the position on the northern and eastern faces, while two of the Company's cruizers, and other armed vessels, having three hundred of His Majesty's 41st on board, ascended the Irawadi. General Campbell was on board one of the cruizers. One column of Madras troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, soon came into action, but was unable to penetrate through the enemy's outer entrenchments. The second column, the Madras European Regiment, under Colonel Hodgson, although received by a heavy fire, might have succeeded in the attempt, but an unseasonable discharge of grape from some of the armed vessels crossing its line of advance, inflicted more damage than had been suffered from the enemy, and deterred the troops from prosecuting this assault. The third column failed to force its way through the thickets to any point where it could take part in the engagement. The troops were ordered to retreat, and the vessels fell down the river, yielding to the Burmas the honour of the day, and inspiriting them to persevere in the contest.

Previously to this failure, two several missions had arrived, which professed to have come from the newly appointed Rewoon, or Governor of Rangoon, and from the Viceroy of Pegu, to demand the cause of the attack upon Rangoon, and to propose a conference at Donabew with the British commissioners. This was declined. The messengers of the Viceroy were apprised that the transmission of despatches to Ava would alone meet the wishes of the British officers; and they promised to return with the Viceroy's concurrence: but as they never again made their appearance, it was probable, that their purpose had been to observe the condition of the British force, and to obtain a suspension of hostilities. In this latter respect they were disappointed, as arrangements were immediately adopted for repeating the attack on Kemendine. Accordingly, on the 10th of July, a strong force was sent against that post and the stockades which had been erected between it and the Great Pagoda. It consisted of three thousand men, with four 18-pounders and four howitzers, under the Commander-in-Chief; and two divisions of armed vessels were employed to assail the river face. On the march, a strong stockade was found about two miles from the town, of which the front faced a plain covered with water, and the other three sides were imbedded in the surrounding forest. A strong Burma division occupied the post. After battering the open face for an hour, a gap was effected, by which an opening was made for the storming column of the Madras European Regiment, and His Majesty's 41st. At the same time, a second column of four Companies

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of the 13th and 38th Regiments, clambered over the palisades in the rear of the entrenchment. The Burmas were thus hemmed in between the two parties, and fell in great numbers before the resistless bayonet. At this period of the war, the Burmas, expecting no quarter, fought with desperation when unable to escape, and requited the forbearance of the soldiers by treacherous attempts against their lives, which proved most fatal to themselves. The slaughter was in all cases disproportionate to the numbers engaged, and to the loss of the assailants.

The force then moved on to the attack of the Kemendine stockade; but by the time it had cleared a way through the thickets, and taken up its position opposite to the works, with the left resting on the river, and the right extending inland, night had set in, and the troops had to bivouac in the forest. Batteries were also erected without loss of time, and notwithstanding heavy falls of rain, were ready to open at day-break. A practicable breach was soon made; but the total silence that prevailed in the entrenchment, rendered it probable, that the Burmas had not awaited the assault. This was the case: they had abandoned their defence during the night, carrying with them their dead and wounded. As the post of Kemendine formed a convenient station for commanding the passage of the river above Rangoon, and could be supported from Shwe-da-gon hill, it was determined to occupy it permanently; and a hundred Europeans, with a Regiment of Madras Native Infantry were left as its garrison. The Burmas drew back from their

proximity to the British lines, and concentrated their forces at Donabew, above fifty miles from Rangoon. BOOK III. CHAP. II. 1824.

A short interval of inaction followed the capture of the stockades at Kemendine, and nothing was felt of the enemy until the close of the month. The interruption of active operations on the part of the invaders was unavoidable; partly from the state of the country, but in a still greater degree from the first appearance of that sickness which continued to prevail during the remainder of the rainy season, and was attended with the most extensive mortality. It began with an epidemic fever, which attacked individuals of all ranks, including the Commander-in-Chief, and which, although rarely fatal, left the system so much enfeebled as to be peculiarly liable to maladies incidental to exposure to the heavy rains and scorching sun of a tropical climate. To aggravate these causes, the quantity and quality of the supplies provided for the troops proved defective. Relying upon the reported facility of obtaining cattle and vegetable food at Rangoon, it had not been thought necessary to embark any extraordinary stores on board the transports from Calcutta; and the Madras troops landed with a still more limited stock. As soon as the deficiency was ascertained, arrangements were made to remedy it: but the arrival of provisions from Bengal demanded time, and in the interval the troops were dependent for sustenance upon salt meat, much of which was in a state of putrescence, and biscuit originally of an inferior description, and further deteriorated by the

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influence of the climate in engendering rapid decomposition. The want of sufficient and wholesome food aggravated the evil effects of the superabundant moisture of the atmosphere, and the evolution of deleterious vapours from the decaying vegetable matter of the surrounding thickets; and the hospitals speedily became crowded with sick, beyond the means at command of remedial treatment. Fever and dysentery were the prevailing maladies, and were ascribable to local causes; but scurvy and hospital gangrene by which they were followed, were mainly attributable to the want of proper and salutary nourishment. Such were the consequences of these combined causes, that towards the end of the monsoon, scarcely three thousand men were fit for active duty. Their spirit remained, however, unimpaired, and with the intermission of the wet weather, and the arrival of more adequate supplies, the troops, although their numbers were greatly thinned by disease and death, were restored in some degree to health and efficiency.[1]

Disease was not, however, the only enemy which the British had to encounter; and after a few

[1] "During June, July, August, September, and October, the average monthly admissions into the hospital from the Artillery, were sixty-five Europeans and sixty-two Natives, being nearly one-third of the former, and one-fourth of the latter; and large as was this number, I am assured it was considerably less in proportion than that which was exhibited by any (at least) European regiment, in either division of the army. Of the Europeans, those who died were a fraction less than one in twelve; of the Natives, something less than one in twenty. On the setting in of the cold season, the general sickness began to decline, and from January to July, 1825, was comparatively moderate."—Dr. Waddell on the Diseases among the British troops at Rangoon. — Trans. Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta, 3, 249.

weeks of repose, their exertions in the field were again attended with a renewal of their triumphs, as well as by an aggravation of their sufferings. Towards the end of June, the Burmas were observed crossing in considerable numbers from Dalla, on the right bank of the river, to the left above Kemendine; and on the first of July, the forests in front of the Bengal lines were occupied by the enemy, while three columns, each estimated at a thousand strong moved to the right, as if intending to interpose between the lines and the town. They were encountered by a company of the 7th, and two of the 22d Madras Infantry, with a couple of guns, under the personal direction of General Campbell, and were soon driven from their forward position and dispersed. No further attack was made; but the Burmas were evidently pursuing their former plan of hemming in the British, and compelling them to retire, either by force of arms, or by the impossibility of availing themselves of the resources of the country. The check received on the 1st, had no effect upon their movements; and on the following morning, a body marched upon Dalla. They were repulsed, but with the loss of the officer commanding, Captain Isaacs of the Madras Army. As the town which had been deserted by the inhabitants, served only to give cover to the enemy's approaches, it was destroyed.

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The appointment of a new commander, the Thamba Wungyi, in place of the Thekia Wungyi, who had failed to fulfil the injunction of the Court to annihilate the invaders, gave an additional impulse to the operations of the Burmas, and rendered them

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so daring and troublesome, that Sir A. Campbell determined to drive the enemy to a greater distance. They had taken up a very strong position, about seven miles above Rangoon, at a place where another branch of the Irawadi, the Lyne, joins the Rangoon river; and had there constructed three large stockades, which completely commanded the stream. The first of these, stood on the right bank of the Rangoon branch, about eight hundred yards below the junction of the rivers; the second, on the left bank, at a similar distance; and the third, on the point of land at the confluence, which, from its having a small pagoda on it, was denominated Pagoda point. At Kamarut, a mile and a half above this, on the left bank of the Lyne, but at some distance from the bank, was a fourth stockade of still greater extent, connected with the others by subsidiary entrenchments. The works were defended by a force of at least ten thousand men. On the morning of the 8th July, a flotilla consisting of two of the Company's cruizers, and several smaller vessels, under the command of Lieutenant Frazer, of His Majesty's ship Larne, having on board General Campbell, with two hundred and sixty men of the 41st Regiment, a company of the Madras European Regiment, and detachments of the 3rd, 10th, and 17th Madras Infantry, ascended the river. The fire from the vessels soon overpowered that of the stockades; and having effected a breach in the entrenchments on the right hand, the troops disembarked, and carried the work by storm. The second stockade, was in like manner taken by escalade; and the third was abandoned.

While these operations were proceeding against the works on the river, a column composed of detachments from the different European Regiments, the 13th, 38th, and 89th, the Madras European Regiment, and the 7th Native Infantry, with artillery, under the command of Brigadier General Macbean, marched from the Shwe-da-gon upon Kamarut. The thickness of the forest compelled the return of the field-ordnance, with the exception of some small howitzers; and the march was further impeded by heavy rain. The column, however, advanced to the edge of a plain, where they could distinguish a series of seven different stockades giving mutual support to each other, and occupied by a numerous body of troops, who manifested entire confidence in the impregnability of their defences. After reconnoitring the works, General Macbean ordered the nearest of the stockades to be attacked; and it was immediately escaladed and taken by the 13th and 38th. As soon as it was cleared, the troops were again formed and led against a second stockade, which they carried in an equally intrepid manner. In this attack, Major Sale, of His Majesty's 13th, was engaged in single conflict with a Burma of rank, who fell beneath his sword. The slaughter was fearful; and those who fled from it were too much alarmed to think of rallying. The panic was communicated to their companions; and the remaining stockades were carried with little resistance. An attempt of the fugitives to assemble on the skirts of the forest was frustrated by a few discharges of musquetry; and the whole of the entrenchments at

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Kamarut were in the possession of the British. Eight hundred of the enemy were found dead in the stockades, and numbers of the wounded perished in the thickets into which they had been conveyed; among the latter, was Thamba Wungyi, the Burma commander. The capture of so many stockades, and the deliberate valour with which they were stormed and carried, almost exclusively by the bayonet, first struck terror into the Burmas; and they learned no longer to think themselves secure within the entrenchments. A strong impression was also made upon the Court: and they now began, though reluctantly, to admit some doubt of their triumph, unless the genius of Maha Bandoola should redeem the reputation of their arms.

The inundation of the country, and the sickly state of the troops, precluded the possibility of offensive operations on an extensive scale. Sir A. Campbell confined his movements, therefore, to the reduction of the districts which were accessible by water. Syriam, the ancient capital of Pegu, near the junction of the Pegu river with that of Rangoon, was attacked and taken on the 4th of August, by a party of His Majesty's 41st, the Madras European Regiment, and 12th Madras N. I., and a division of seamen from the flotilla. The Burmas had fortified themselves in the old Portuguese factory, but had not courage to face an escalade. After a brisk fire, they fled as the troops advanced to the assault. A detachment was also sent to the opposite district of Dalla, where a stockade was in like manner deserted. Although harassing to the troops, these excursions had the effect of relieving

the inhabitants from the military conscription to which they were subject: and some of them now ventured to return to Rangoon. The people of Pegu also began to cherish hopes of being enabled to shake off the yoke which they had borne for the last sixty years, and again becoming an independent kingdom under some descendant of their former kings. All encouragement to this effect was, however, abstained from: as it was thought that it might entail upon the Company the obligation of upholding a government incompetent to defend itself, and involve the British in an embarrassing connection, unlikely to be attended with advantage. It was, therefore, resolved not to countenance any insurrectional movements among the Talains, or people of Pegu: and this cautious policy made them backward in identifying their interests with those of the invaders.

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The naval resources which were available induced Sir A. Campbell to extend his operations against the maritime possessions of Ava; and at the end of August, a division, consisting of His Majesty's 89th and the 7th Madras Infantry under Lieut.-Colonel Miles, with several gun-brigs and cruizers, were sent against the coast of Tenaserim, a narrow but productive strip of land, extending four hundred miles along the bay of Bengal towards the south, in which direction it was bounded by the Malay states dependent on Siam, while, on the east, a range of mountains separated it from that kingdom. The chief towns, Tavoy and Mergui, speedily fell into the hands of the British. At the former, a party friendly to them, headed by the second in authority,

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seized upon the Governor, and delivered up the town. At Mergui, some resistance was experienced: but after the fire from the defences was silenced by the cruizers, the troops landed and stormed the principal stockade. The people, a mixed race of Burmas and Peguers, at first fled; but shortly afterwards returned, and submitted readily to their new masters. At the same time, the reduction of the whole of the Tenaserim provinces was completed, by the capture of Martaban, a considerable town on the Sanluen river; and the subjugation of the district of Ye, by a detachment of His Majesty's 41st, and the 3rd N. I., under Lieut-Colonel Goodwin. Some resistance was encountered at Martaban, where the Burmas were in considerable strength, and of which the defences were formidable: the stockades were, however, carried by the combined exertions of the naval and land forces, without any heavy loss. Ye tendered a voluntary surrender; the Burma troops abandoning the neighbourhood, and withdrawing to the vicinity of Rangoon. Thither, also, the Europeans returned, while the Native troops were left to garrison the conquered provinces. In the northern districts, as in the southern, the people, principally Talains or natives of Pegu, after a short interval of alarm and flight, returned to their habitations; and the resources of Tenaserim became fully disposable. They were found to be of importance; furnishing supplies of vegetables and of cattle to Rangoon, and affording a comparatively healthy station, to which the convalescents of the army might be sent with advantage.

On their part, the Burmas were not idle; and, although equally prevented from moving in large bodies by the state of the country, they hovered round the British outposts on either bank of the river, and kept up a series of petty but harassing manœuvres. A body of picked men, supposed to be protected by charms and amulets against wounds, attempted a night-assault upon the post at the Great Pagoda, but were easily repulsed, and taught, by the loss of twenty of their number, the fallacy of their fancied invulnerability. On the Dalla side of the river, a small post, which had been established to hold the Burmas in check, and was supported by several gun-brigs anchored in an adjacent inlet of the main river, was attacked on the night of the 5th September, while a number of war-boats attempted to cut off the gun-brigs. Both attacks were repulsed; and the boats of the Larne, which had been manned and rowed up the creek, at the first alarm, put the Burma flotilla to flight, and captured five of their number. On the Rangoon river, above Pagoda Point, the Burmas had erected stockades, and were busy in preparing fire-rafts, when they were disturbed by a detachment of European and Native troops, under Brigadier-General Fraser, who had succeeded General Macbean, in the command of the Madras division, and by a naval force, under Captain Chads of His Majesty's ship Arachne, which had joined the squadron. The combined force ascended the river about twenty miles, and discovered and destroyed several stockades, the Burmas in which, after exchanging their fire with

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the flotilla, fled as soon as the troops were landed for the assault, evincing the impression which had been made upon their fears by the destruction which had hitherto befallen their entrenchments. A circumstance occurred, however, at this time, which might have been expected to have re-animated their confidence in their system of making war.

In the beginning of October, information having been received that the Burmas had strengthened themselves at Kyklu, about fourteen miles from Rangoon, Sir A. Campbell determined to dislodge them; and, in order to gratify the Madras troops, who felt aggrieved that they had not hitherto been allowed to lead the way to victory, but had been employed only to second and support the Europeans, the enterprise was entrusted to them alone; a brigade of the 3rd and 34th Native Infantry, about eight hundred strong, with two howitzers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, being sent against the enemy. He marched early on the 4th of October, and, after some delay and fatigue occasioned by the state of the country, arrived towards evening at an entrenchment occupied by the Burmas. An attempt to carry it by escalade was defeated, with the loss of Lieutenant Campbell of the Pioneers, who was mortally wounded. The howitzers were then brought up, and after a few discharges, the work was taken in flank, and the Burmas retreated into the thickets adjacent. From information obtained from the prisoners, it appeared that the Burmas were in greater force at Kyklu than had been anticipated, and Lieutenant-

Colonel Smith applied for a reinforcement of a detachment of European troops. The Commander-in-Chief refused to allow any European soldiers to be sent,[1] but despatched three hundred of the Madras Infantry, with two more field-pieces, and with these Colonel Smith marched upon Kyklu on the morning of the 7th. On his approach to the position, a succession of breast-works arrested his advance. They were stormed, but with unavoidable delay; and it was five in the afternoon before the force arrived at the principal stockade, resting on an eminence on its right, the summit of which was covered by a fortified Pagoda. A column of attack under Major Wahab was directed to advance against the stockade in front, while another under Captain Williamson diverged to the right, to assault it in flank. A third column formed a reserve, while a party of the 28th N.I. was directed to carry the Pagoda. The Burmas permitted the column of attack to approach within sixty yards without firing a shot, when they poured upon them a fire of grape and musquetry, so steadily maintained, that the Sipahis quailed beneath it. Major Wahab and the leading officers and men were killed or wounded, and the remainder, losing their self-command, lay down to screen themselves from the fire. The party sent against the Pagoda had been unable to make any

[1] See Lieutenant Havelock's account of this transaction: he justly observes: "the catastrophe at Kaikloo is to be attributed to a false partition of force." Native soldiers are most effective when associated with Europeans: the absence of the latter on this occasion evidently originated in feelings incompatible with the real interests and reputation of the army.—Memoir on the Campaigns of Ava, p. 124.

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impression upon the post, and had fallen back, pursued by the Burmas. The column that was to have taken the works in flank had not made its appearance. Hopeless of retrieving the day, Colonel Smith ordered a retreat, which began with some degree of order, but soon degenerated into a flight; and the men rushed in a confused mass down the hill, closely followed by the Burmas. The pursuit was checked by the approach of Captain Williamson's division, which, unable to penetrate through the thicket, had retraced its steps, and debouched in time to oppose a steady front to the enemy. The column of reserve also succeeded in rallying the fugitives; and the whole retreated in good order to Todaghee, where they arrived at eleven at night. Two officers[1] and twenty men were killed, and six officers and sixty men were wounded in this affair. A report was forwarded to Ava, that a great victory had been won; and the fact was confirmed by the transmission of the arms and accoutrements of the fallen soldiers. Great exultation was manifested, and commendation and rewards conferred upon the Tsada Woon, who commanded the Burma force.

Whatever may have been the inducement to incur the hazard of discomfiture at Kyklu, its actual occurrence was too obviously mischievous, and was too intolerable to the spirit of the army to be passed over without retribution. Immediate

[1] Captain Allen and Lieutenant Bond of the 34th Madras N.I. Lieutenant Trant, who was with the columns, and has given a very distinct account of the action, makes the killed amount to forty.—Two Years in Ava, p. 97.

measures were adopted to remedy the evil consequences of the disaster, and a force of four hundred and twenty Europeans, and three hundred and fifty Native Infantry, with three field-pieces, was detached against Kyklu, on the afternoon of the 17th, under Brigadier Mc Creagh. On approaching the position, the division found the mangled bodies of those who fell on the 7th suspended to the trees by the road-side, after having suffered every mutilation that barbarian cruelty could devise. The sight served to rouse the indignation of the troops, and they pressed on eagerly to revenge their companions in arms. Their vengeance was disappointed: the enemy had not waited for the certain retaliation, but had fallen back to Koghahi, where he was reported to have received reinforcements, and thrown up entrenchments. Brigadier McCreagh continued his march to the spot indicated, but found no other vestige of the Burmas than an unfinished and abandoned stockade. Having destroyed the works at the different stations, the division returned to Rangoon without the loss of a man.

Nor was the expedition to Kyklu the only action at this period, notwithstanding the physical obstacles to military operation and the crippled condition of the force, which evinced the spirit of both the naval and military services. The brother of the King of Ava, the Prince of Tharawadi, who had been placed at the head of the Burma army, had continued in position with his main body at Donabew, but had detached a part of his force under the Kye Wungyi, a principal member of

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the ministry[1], to Thantabain on the Lyne river. Here he was attacked, on the 8th of October, by Major Evans, with three hundred of His Majesty's 38th, one hundred of the Madras Light Infantry, with a detachment of Artillery and a division of gun-boats, the flotilla being commanded by Captain Chads. The party proceeded by water. On the 7th they arrived opposite to Thantabain, which was defended by three breast-works of timber, and fourteen war-boats, each carrying a gun. After exchanging a brisk fire, the troops and sailors landed, and stormed the works. On the following morning, they attacked and captured the principal stockade, which was of great strength, being two hundred yards long by one hundred and eighty broad, and constructed of solid timbers fifteen feet high, having an interior platform eight feet from the ground, on which a number of small iron and wooden guns were arranged, while a battery of seven pieces of ordnance of larger calibre were placed in battery along the lower part of the work, through openings pierced for the muzzles of the

[1] Although the Burma form of Government is that of an absolute despotism, the King is aided in his administration by two councils, a public and a privy one. The first consists of four members, entitled Wungyees, properly written Wun-kri. "Wun" meaning literally a burthen; but in tbis case denoting an office of importance. The members of this council are considered competent to the discharge of all responsible duties, whether civil or military: so are their deputies, or Wun-doks, of wbom also there are four. The council is completed by eight or ten Saradhaugyis, or Secretaries. The Privy Council consists also of four members, styled Atwen-wuns, or inside officers, being the private advisers of the King. They have their Secretaries, or Thandauthans. The Governor of a province is styled Myo-wun, and his deputy Re-wun, while the head of a township is the Myo-thugyi. All these, and all other public officers, are expected to discharge military, as well as judicial, and fiscal duties; and the whole male adult population of the country is liable to conscription.—Crawfurd's Embassy to Ava, p. 395.

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guns. The Burmas, after one or two ineffective discharges, fled from the approach of the storming party, and the entrenchment was captured without loss. In it was found a temporary building for the accommodation of the Kye Wungyi, perforated in many places by the balis from the flotilla: a circumstance which, no doubt, contributed to the rapid evacuation of the stockade. The works were destroyed, and the force returned to Rangoon.

The rains which had intermitted in October, returned with great violence in the beginning of November; and as the transports with fresh stores had not yet reached Rangoon, the continuance of the same causes, an unhealthy climate and unwholesome food, admitted of no material alleviation of the sickness. Scarcely thirteen hundred Europeans, many of whom were enfeebled by recent disease, were fit for duty; and the native regiments were similarly reduced, both in numbers and vigour. The sufferings of the troops were, however, forgotten, in the prospect of new triumphs; and the approach of danger stimulated them to exertions of which they could scarcely have been deemed capable. A final effort to drive the invaders into the sea, or bring them in chains to be subjected to ignominy and torture at Ava, was now to be made; and Maha Bandoola, having added to the troops recalled from Arakan all the reinforcements which the utmost exertions of the Government could levy, was marching at the head of a reputed host of sixty thousand men, to annihilate the British army at Rangoon. He arrived in the vicinity of the British lines in the beginning of

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December, and was allowed to take up the position he selected without interruption, it being the policy of the Commander-in-Chief to encourage his presumption, and thus bring the enemy completely within reach before striking a decisive blow. The array of the Burma army, which was supported on the right by a numerous flotilla of war-boats and fire-rafts on the river, extended from the Irawadi, opposite to Dalla, in a semi-circular direction, past Kemendine and the Great Pagoda, facing the Bengal lines, and rested its left on the bank of the Puzendoon creek, half a mile from Rangoon on the east. The front was covered in most places by thick jungle, but, where open, was protected by breast-works and stockades, which were constructed with singular rapidity and skill. Of the Burma force, half were armed with musquets, the rest with swords and spears. They had a number of ginjals, or small cannon, carrying balls of from six to twelve ounces, and some pieces of heavier, though not very serviceable, artillery. A body of five hundred Casay horse, mounted on the small but sturdy ponies of the country, formed their cavalry. The key of the British position was the Great Pagoda, which was armed with twenty pieces of artillery, and occupied by three hundred men of His Majesty's 38th. The 28th Madras Infantry was stationed at its base. Along the heights to the town, were posted His Majesty's 13th, with some guns on their right. The remainder of the force was arranged communicating with Rangoon, which was further defended by the shipping. A post in front of the lines, originally a Buddhist convent,

was occupied by two hundred of the Madras European Infantry and some Sipahis, with guns; and the stockade of Kemendine, which covered the left rear of the position, was held by the 26th Madras Native Infantry and a few of the Madras European Regiment, under Major Yates. His Majesty's sloop Sophia under Captain Ryves, and the Satellite gun-brig, anchored off Kemendine, materially added to its defensive strength.

Between the 1st and 5th of December, the Burmas displayed incessant activity, in advancing their works close to the British lines, and in repeated attacks upon the stockade of Kemendine. shewing that they accurately estimated its importance. Their efforts were repulsed with distinguished gallantry. They kept up a constant fire also upon the vessels in the river from the opposite bank, but did little execution. Nor were their fire-rafts, although launched with persevering diligence, productive of much detriment. No serious attempt was made to check their progress; although, on the 1st, a division under Major Sale attacked the left of the enemy, drove them into the forest, and destroyed their entrenchments[1], and on the following morning, two sorties were made from the Pagoda, which in like manner compelled the Burmas to conceal themselves in the adjoining jungle. As soon as the troops retired, they returned to their position, and resumed their works; and, as by the fifth of the month, they had begun to be troublesome along the front, Sir A. Campbell con-

[1] In this action, Capt. O'Shea was killed, and five officers of the 13th were wounded.

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ceived that the period had arrived for a general attack upon them. A party of gun-boats was accordingly sent up the Puzendoon creek, to take the Burmas in flank, while two columns, one eleven hundred strong under Major Sale, and the other of six hundred under Major Walker, moved upon their left. Both columns forced their way through the Burma entrenchments, and broke and scattered their defenders, until the whole of the left of the enemy was driven from the field, with the loss of their guns, and military and working stores. Their loss was also severe, while that of the British was inconsiderable; except in the death of Major Walker, who was shot at the head of his column.

Although dislodged from his position on the left, Maha Bandoola did not think it necessary to quit the field, but concentrating his troops on the centre and the right, commanded them to push forward their trenches in the direction of the Great Pagoda, until they were within a hundred yards of the mound. To chase them finally from this vicinity, Sir A. Campbell ordered an attack to be made upon them, on the 7th December, in four columns, commanded severally by Lieut.-Colonels Mallet, Brodie, and Parlby, and Captain Wilson; Major Sale with his division acting upon the enemy's left and rear. The advance of the columns was preceded by a heavy cannonade. They were received with a brisk fire from the enemy; but as soon as they neared the trenches, the Burmas fled: and the grand army, which was to have freed Ava from the presence of the invaders, was completely routed and disorganised. The division which had

been previously engaged in fruitless attacks upon Kemendine, made a final attempt on the morning after the action at the Pagoda, but was again repulsed, and desisted from the enterprise. A body which continued to occupy the stockades at Dalla, was driven from them on the 10th, by a party of His Majesty's 89th, and some Native troops; and the neighbourhood of Rangoon was considered to be no longer infested by a hostile force. With that perseverance, however, which so remarkably characterised the Burma commanders, and the elasticity with which they recovered from defeat, it soon appeared that they were still in the neighbourhood; and it was ascertained that they had thrown up strong defences at Kokien, about four miles north of the Great Pagoda, where twenty thousand men had rallied, under the command of Maha Thilwa. It was necessary to dislodge them, and compel their removal to a greater distance, not only in completion of the military movements which had been hitherto so successful, but in order to protect Rangoon from the more insidious projects of the Burmas, to effect its destruction. On the night of the 14th, an extensive conflagration, attributed to incendiaries, broke out at once in different places, by which the mat huts were speedily consumed; and a great part of the town was laid in ashes. The flames were fortunately suppressed by the exertions of the garrison and the sailors of the squadron, without having done any injury to the public stores; and without any attempts of the enemy to take advantage of the temporary confusion and embarrassment which

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succeeded. Accordingly, on the 15th December, two columns; the right, formed of detachments of His Majesty's 13th, and the 18th and 34th N. I., with one field-piece, and sixty men of the Governor-General's Body-Guard, the whole six hundred strong, under Brigadier Cotton, who had recently taken the command of the Bengal division; and the left, eight hundred strong, composed of detachments of the 38th, 41st, and 89th, King's Regiments, and the Madras European Regiment, and of the 9th, 12th, 28th, and 30th, N. I., with five guns, and the rest of the Body-Guard, commanded by General Campbell himself, marched upon the works at Kokien. The latter was intended to assail them in front; while the former was to make a detour and attack them in the rear. The works were strong and extensive, consisting of two large stockades on either flank, connected by six circular entrenchments, the whole being three miles in circumference. The left column, on reaching the point of attack, was divided into two portions, which were respectively directed against the two principal stockades. The right column, on arriving in the rear of the left stockade, was for some time exposed to a heavy fire, by which the 13th which led the division, and which had signalised itself in every action in which the regiment had been engaged, suffered severely. Three officers were killed[1], and Major Sale and several others were wounded; but nothing could arrest the progress of the troops, and

[1] Lieutenants Darby, Petre, and Jones, two Serjeants, and seven rank and file, were killed; eight officers, including Majors Sale and Dennie, two Serjeants, and forty privates, were wounded.

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the entrenchment was carried at the point of the bayonet. At the same time, the 38th had escaladed the front face of the stockade, and the Burmas, hemmed in by the assailants, fell in great numbers. The other principal stockade was captured with equal celerity by the 89th, and in twenty minutes the whole of the works were in possession of the British[1]. The Burmas sustained a severe loss on this occasion, as the fugitives were intercepted by the Governor-General's Body-Guard, a detachment of which had recently joined from Bengal, and proved of great service in the ensuing operations. Equal success attended the British arms on the river; and the boats of the men-of-war, and gun-boats towed by the Diana steamer, captured and destroyed a number of war-boats and fire-rafts. The dispersion of the grand army was thus completed; and the Burma General, retiring to Donabew, employed himself with the most laudable resolution and activity in rallying and re-organising his army, and placing it under the shelter of entrenchments of more than ordinary strength and extent. The character of the war was in fact changed. The Burmas no longer ventured upon offensive operations, but confined their objects to the defence of the line of the river, and the exclusion of the British from any communication with the upper provinces. The ill-success with which this policy was attended, we shall hereafter describe; and in the mean time, advert to the events which had occurred in other quarters.

[1] Besides the loss suffered by the 13th, the casualties of the day, were, six killed, and eighty-five wounded; of the latter, Lieutenant O'Hanton, Bengal Artillery, died of his wounds.

CHAPTER III.

Asam.—Advance of the British Troops,—Retreat of the Burmas to the Fort of Rangpur.—Dissensions of the Garrison,—capitulate.—Burmas evacuate Asam,—renew the Invasion in concert with the Sing-fos,—their Stockades taken, and they finally retire.—Kachar.—Army assembled for the Invasion of Ava from Kachar.—Nature of the Country,—impossibility of advance,—Project abandoned,—the Burmas driven from Manipur by Gambhir Sing.—Arakan.—Large Army and Flotilla assembled for the Invasion of Ava by way of Arakan,—difficulty of procuring Carriage,—Discontent of Bengal Troops,—Insubordination of the Regiments at Barrackpore,—ordered on Service,—Grievances un-redressed.—47th in a state of Mutiny,—Measures for its Suppression.—Troops collected at Barrackpore.—Mutineers fired upon,—some killed, others taken and sentenced to Death, or to Imprisonment,—some executed,—the rest pardoned.—Difficult Progress of the Army in Arakan.—Road along the Coast crossed by wide Estuaries.—Passage of the Naf,—of the Myoo.—Army collected on the Koladyne.—Repulse of the Flotilla at Kiung-pala.—Advance of the Army towards Arakan,—opposed by the Enemy.—First

attempt to cross the Hills unsuccessful, — the Burma Position turned, — Arakan occupied, — Burma Force evacuates the Province. — Sandoway and Ramri reduced. — Attempts to discover Passes over the Mountains to Ava unsuccessful. — Unhealthiness of Arakan, — extreme Sickness and Mortality of the Troops, — the Town abandoned.

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As soon as the British troops in Asam found it necessary to fall back to Gohati, the Burmas returned to the stations whence they had been expelled, and renewed their work of spoliation in the adjacent districts. It was, therefore, determined to effect their final expulsion; and Lieut.-Colonel Richards, having been placed in command of a Native force, about three thousand strong, was instructed to perform the duty.[1] Although the state of the country delayed the movement of his entire division; yet, towards the end of October, two detachments were sent in advance by water, to check the predatory incursions of the enemy. Major Waters, with part of the Dinapore battalion, proceeded to Raha Chowki and Noagong; and Major Cooper, with a wing of the Champaran Light Infantry, to Kaliabar. The first division, on arriving at Raha Chowki, found the Burmas unprepared for an attack, and dispersed among the villages. In their flight many were killed and taken. They were followed to Noagong, where the Boora Raja, the Burma Gover-

[1] This division was formed of the 46th and 47th Regiments of Native Infantry, the Rungpore and Dinapore Local Battalions, Champaran Light Infantry, details of artillery and a body of Irregular Horse, with a flotilla of gun-boats.

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1825. not until the 6th January, that the whole were concentrated at Maura Mukh, on the Brahmaputra, one hundred and twenty miles from Gohati, clearing the country, as they advanced, of several detached parties of the Burmas on their flanks, and compelling them to retire further to the east; at first to Jorhath, and then to Rangpur, the capital of Upper Asam, situated on the Dikho river, a feeder of the Brahmaputra. Colonel Richards arrived at Rangpur on the 29th, and having carried by escalade a strong stockade erected across the road, invested the south face of the fort, a square building of masonry, on the walls of which two hundred pieces of ordnance of various calibre were mounted, and the approach to which was defended by deep swamps and a ditch. Arrangements were made to batter the walls, and effect a breach, when proposals for surrender were received. The garrison consisted of Burmas and Asamese; the latter being the followers of the chiefs who had been opposed to the Raja, Chandra Kanta, and

had called in the aid of the Burmas. The presence of danger had disposed many of them to desert their allies; and violent dissensions had for some time prevailed among them, in the course of which, the head of the party, the Boora Raja, had recently been murdered at Jorhath. Two of the surviving chiefs now in Rangpur, the Sham Phokan and Bagli Phokan, were desirous of making terms with the English; and they succeeded in persuading the opposing party to permit the despatch of an embassy to Lieut.-Colonel Richards, to learn the conditions which they might expect. As the season was advanced, and difficulties and delays in bringing up supplies might be anticipated, it was thought prudent to permit such of the garrison as continued hostile, to withdraw into the Burma territory, on condition of their abstaining from any act of aggression on their retreat. Those, who were willing to submit, were allowed to remain in Asam. The terms were accepted. Sham Phokan with seven hundred followers surrendered. There were about nine thousand of both sexes and all ages, including two thousand fighting men, who marched towards the frontier; but many fell off by the way, and established themselves in Asam. The occupation of Rangpur and the retreat of the Burmas successfully terminated the operations of the campaign, and rendered Asam a British province. There still continued, however, a demand for the exertions of the British officers to restrain the lawless habits of the Sing-fos, and other barbarous border tribes; who, taking advantage of the disorders consequent on the Burma invasion, overran

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and laid waste the adjacent districts, and carried off great numbers of the inhabitants as slaves. The determination which was shewn to prevent and punish the outrages of these tribes, induced them to make common cause with the Burmas; and in May, a joint force of Burmas and Sing-fos entrenched themselves at Dafa Gam and Bisa Gam, villages on the Nao-dihing river. These were successively attacked on the 9th and 11th June, by a detachment of the 57th Native Infantry, under Lieutenants Neufville and Ker. Little resistance was made at the former. At the latter, the Burmas drew up in front of their stockades, as if with an intention of giving battle; but a corresponding move being made by the Sipahis, their courage failed, and they retired into their entrenchments. Being closely followed, they attempted no stand, but evacuated the whole of the stockades, five in number, as the troops advanced to the charge, without firing a shot. On the following morning, the enemy was pursued to the passes in the mountains, by a party under Ensign Boyle, less with the expectation of overtaking them, than that of rescuing the captives they were carrying into slavery. The hope was not disappointed; and, although the enemy were seen from the top of the first pass, making their way across the second, at a distance which precluded the chance of coming up with them, they had quickened their advance only by abandoning much of their spoil and leaving their prisoners behind. Many hundreds of Asamese were redeemed from certain bondage, and restored to their native villages. Arrangements were sub-

sequently made with the barbarian tribes of Upper Asam, by which they were converted into dependents and allies, and detached from all connection with Ava.

The operations in Asam had been regulated by the principles originally laid down, and had been confined to the expulsion of the Burmas from the province. Adherence to a similar prudent policy in Kachar would have obviated much embarrassment and disappointment, and avoided an enormous and fruitless expense. When, however, the difficulties in which the expedition to Rangoon was involved were made known to the Government, and it appeared doubtful whether the British force under General Campbell would be able to penetrate into the interior of the country, the views originally entertained were departed from, and plans were suggested, which received the earnest support of the Commander-in-Chief, for an invasion of Ava, by two considerable armaments, one of which was to penetrate from Kachar, through Manipur, into the valley of the Ningti river, falling into the Irawadi; the other from Chittagong through Arakan, and across the mountains into Ava, where it was to effect a junction with the army of Rangoon. The Burmas had shewn that such routes existed; and it was rather hastily concluded that they would be equally practicable to disciplined troops encumbered with heavy baggage, stores and artillery. The consequences were such as might have been anticipated from so inaccurate an estimate of the difficulties to be overcome.

The force that was assembled on the Sylhet

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frontier for the Kachar campaign, in the cold weather of 1824-5, consisted of above seven thousand men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Shuldham.[1] No opposition was to be apprehended from the enemy, for the Burmas had abandoned all their posts in Kachar; and the exertions of the Court of Ava on the side of Rangoon prevented the possibility of their reinforcing to any extent their parties in Manipur. The army had, however, much more formidable foes to contend with in the character of the country that was to be traversed, and very soon experienced the utter impossibility of triumphing over the physical obstacles opposed to its progress.

The first move of the Kachar force brought Colonel Shuldham, with the artillery and the 3rd Brigade to Dudhpatli, by a road which had been made with infinite labour by the Pioneers, from Bhadrapur to Banskandy. From the latter to Manipur, a distance of nearly ninety miles, the whole tract presented an uninterrupted succession of ascents and descents, abrupt hills stretching across the road from north to south, and separated at their bases by narrow streams, with precipitous banks, running in a deep miry bottom, and liable, like all mountain rivulets, to a sudden and rapid rise after every shower. For the first thirty miles, the hills were clothed from their bases to their summits

[1] It was formed of six Regiments of N.I.: the 7th, 44th, and 45th, brigaded as the 3rd Brigade; and the 14th, 39th, and 52nd, as the 4th Brigade; two Companies of Artillery, four of Pioneers, the Sylhet Local Corps, a Corps of Cavalry, Blair's Irregular Horse, and a body of Kacharis and Manipuris, about five hundred strong, under Raja Gambhir Sing.

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with thick forest; the spaces between the trees of which were filled up with an intricate net-work of interwining reeds and brushwood, effectually screening the alluvial soil underneath from the rays of the sun, and converting it into a deep and plashy mire after every slight fall of rain. To aggravate these difficulties, the season proved unusually wet; and frequent and heavy rains commencing early in February, and continuing through the month with little intermission, soon evinced that all expectation of reaching Manipur across the hills and thickets of Kachar, must terminate in disappointment. The Pioneers, by extraordinary exertions, cleared about forty miles of footway, to the banks of the Jiri rivulet, but their labours were of little avail, as the road was impassable for artillery and loaded cattle. In the attempts that were made to move onward, and in the conveyance of supplies to the working parties in advance, hundreds of bullocks, and a great number of camels and elephants, died of fatigue, or were either inextricably plunged in the mud, or had their limbs dislocated in the efforts made for their extrication. After struggling against these natural obstacles in vain, through February and March, the impracticability of the project was recognised, and the prosecution of the design was abandoned. The object was nevertheless accomplished; but by much simpler and less costly means. The expelled Raja of Manipur, Gambhir Sing, accompanied by a British officer, Captain Pemberton, at the head of five hundred Manipuris and Kacharis, provided with arms and ammunition by the British Government, set

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out from Sylhet in the middle of May, and, after undergoing severe fatigue and privation, arrived on the confines of Manipur, on the 10th of June. The main body of the Burmas had quitted the valley; and the detachments left in occupation, did not venture to oppose the Raja. Gambhir Sing, having cleared his country of the enemy, returned to Sylhet, to prepare for further aggressive enterprises when the season should permit.

The armament directed against Arakan was on a scale still more extensive than that against Kachar, and it was confidently expected, that after wresting the province from the Burmas, it would be able to act effectively in concert with Sir Archibald Campbell, by joining him on his way towards the capital. A force of about eleven thousand men[1] was assembled at Chittagong towards the end of September, of which the command was taken by Brigadier-General Morrison, of His Majesty's service: a flotilla of sloops and gun-brigs was attached to it, under the orders of Commodore Hayes[2], for the conveyance of the troops and supplies along the shore, and to co-operate with the force in reducing those portions of the coast, which are formed into small islands by the numerous channels, through which the river of Arakan flows

[1] It was formed of His Majesty's 44th and 54th Regiments, the 26th, 42nd, 49th and 62nd, Bengal N.I., and 2nd L.I. Battalion; the 10th and 16th Regiments, Madras N.I., the Mug levy, a body of Local Horse, with details of Artillery and Pioneers.

[2] The flotilla comprised the Vestal Bombay cruizer, the Company's surveying ships, Research and Investigator, five gun-brigs, with the ketch bomb-vessel, and Pluto, steam gun-vessel, four gun-pinnaces, and eighty gun-boats, each carrying a 12-pounder carronade, besides transports, and Mug and country boats. In addition to their crews, the vessels had on board a flotilla-marine, six hundred strong.

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into the Bay of Bengal. Impediments of a similar character with those which had presented themselves in Asam and Kachar, arising from the nature of the country, and the insufficiency of its resources, retarded the opening of the campaign; and the year had closed before the troops were in a condition to move. The want of cattle for the conveyance of stores and baggage was one of the most serious obstacles of the march of the army, and the difficulty of procuring an adequate supply even in Bengal, was mainly productive of a feeling of discontent among the native troops, which, in one unfortunate instance, led to an unusual and fatal display of insubordination.

In the ordinary movements of the Bengal army, the Sipahis are expected to provide the means of conveyance for their own baggage. This is not in general very cumbrous, but it includes articles for individual use, such as culinary utensils, which the Hindu soldier cannot, consistently with distinctions of caste, share with his comrade, and which form an inconvenient addition to the burthen to be laid upon the bullock that he has hired[1], especially in the lower provinces of Bengal, where the cattle are small and feeble, and wholly incapable of carrying heavy loads, or undergoing long-continued fatigue. Such as they were, however, they were not to be had; the demands of the

[1] The principal articles were thus specified before the Committee of Inquiry: a plate, a water-pot, a boiler and frying-pan, and a cup; these were all of brass, and weighed about 22lbs. To these were to be added, a light carpet, and a quilt. The Sipahi carried his linen, and various small articles, in his knapsack, and sixty rounds of ammunition.

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Commissariat for the supplies to Chittagong and Rangoon, had nearly swept Bengal of its entire stock, and no means existed of procuring cattle for the wants of the native soldiers. Even for the few that were procurable, drivers were not to be engaged, as they shrunk from the perils and privations of a long and laborious march, and either kept aloof altogether, or, if engaged, almost immediately deserted. The objections of the Bengal Sipahis to go on board ship, precluded recourse to the most ready and available mode of conveyance to the coast; and as the Arakan force was composed in great part of native regiments from Bengal, it was consequently necessary that they should be marched by land to Chittagong as soon as the route was practicable. Three of the regiments which had been cantoned at Barrackpore, the 26th, 47th, and 62nd, were accordingly ordered to move in the course of October; but they received the orders with murmurs, and exhibited a strong reluctance to obey, complaining, not without justice, that they could not hire cattle for the carriage of such of their baggage as could not be dispensed with; and that they were required to pay an extravagant price for those few which might be purchased.

There no doubt prevailed among the Sipahis a deep-seated dislike to the service on which they were about to be despatched. They had conceived an absurd dread of the Burmas, as magicians, who had the faculty of rendering themselves invulnerable; and the destruction of the detachment at Ramoo, of which they had heard vague and

exaggerated reports, aggravated their superstitious fears. They entertained a better-grounded apprehension of the unhealthiness of the climate; and they were fully persuaded that it was intended to entice or force them to embark on board ship, as they believed it to be impossible to reach Arakan except by sea. Various minor causes of dissatisfaction also prevailed, especially the inferiority of the pay of the Sipahis to that which was given to camp-followers, and to men of low caste, employed with the army, or in the flotilla, whose services it was difficult to procure, at this time, upon any terms; but a preference of whom, in a pecuniary respect, was felt by the native soldiery to be unjust to their superior claims. These different motives of repugnance were brought to a crisis, by the real difficulty of procuring conveyance; and it would have been equitable, as well as politic, to have adopted liberal measures for the removal of this latter grievance, before the discontent had grown to an unmanageable height. Unfortunately, the chief military authorities, educated in the rigid discipline of the British army, exhibited no disposition to soothe the excited feelings of the native troops.[1] Imperfectly acquainted with the character

[1] The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, has recorded his impression of the state of discipline in the Native Indian army, in the Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons; and, no doubt, acted under this influence on various occasions during his command. He observes:—"It is impossible for me to conceal from the Committee, that there is a great spirit of insubordination in the army, at least that I had the opportunity of more particularly seeing, which is the Bengal army. A sort of spirit of independence prevails amongst the officers, which is totally inconsistent with our ideas of military discipline. I had abundant opportunities of seeing it myself, and had the proofs before me of that spirit; and I have reason to think, from what

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of the Sipahi, or disdaining to humour his peculiarities, instant and unhesitating obedience was insisted on. The probable consequences of a persevering disregard of the reasonable complaints of the troops were either overlooked or defied.

Upon a representation to head-quarters, towards the end of October, of the great difficulty experienced by the 47th Regiment, which was the first that was to march, in procuring conveyance, the corps was officially apprised that the Government could not provide them with cattle, and that they must purchase them for themselves. The communication was formally repeated on the 28th, by General Dalzell, commanding the station at Barrackpore, to the native officers of the regiment on parade, and from that moment the dissatisfaction was not to be appeased. It was in vain that an advance of money was offered to the men, or that their officers collected a partial supply of cattle at their own expense. They held private meetings in the lines, and bound themselves by oath not to march, unless their pay was augmented, and carriage supplied. It happened also, unfortunately, that the recent remodelling of the army had, in most instances, separated the European officers from the corps in which they had previously held command, and had placed over the men persons in whom they were not yet accustomed to confide, thus annihilating that salutary influence

I have subsequently heard, that it is by no means subsiding."—Comm. House of Commons, Military Evidence. The latter part of this testimony applies to the officers, the first part to the army in general; but, notwithstanding the high character of the witness, its justice in regard to either may be disputed.

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which a continuance of kindly intercourse most usually secures to the European officer over the native soldiery.[1] Scarcely any of the officers of the 47th Regiment had been attached to it for more than a few months; and they were consequently imperfectly acquainted with the proceedings of their men, and incompetent to contend with the spirit which had been engendered, whilst it was yet capable of being allayed. It had now burst forth with irrepressible violence, and extenuated, if it did not wholly justify, the extreme measures pursued for its extinction. On the first of November, the 47th Regiment was ordered to parade in marching order. Not more than one-third of the corps obeyed. The rest of the men assembled tumultuously in the adjacent lines, and threatened to fire upon their comrades if they stirred. To their officers, and to General Dalzell, who attempted to recall them to a sense of their duty, they opposed vociferation and vehemence and menacing gestures, which compelled them to withdraw, and leave the mutineers to their uncontrolled will. They com-

[1] In the beginning of 1824, orders were sent to the several presidencies to make some alterations in the constitution of their respective armies: the principal of which was, the conversion of the two battalions, of which each regiment in Bengal had hitherto consisted, into as many regiments, giving a Colonel-commandant to each. The promotion consequent on this multiplication of Colonels, led necessarily to a fresh disposition of the whole army list; and in most cases officers were transferred from the battalions in which they had long served, to regiments in which they were strangers. Besides the loss of personal influence thus occasioned, a great moral injury was inflicted on the composition of the army. All the proud recollections of past triumphs were obliterated; the new regiment had no share in in the honours of the old Pultun, or battalion, and felt no interest in maintaining its reputation. The evil was, no doubt, temporary; but it was at this moment in active operation.—The General Orders, breaking up the old organisation, are dated the 6th of May, 1824.

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mitted no outrage, but continued during the following day and night, in the same state of excitement and stubborn determination not to quit the cantonments. During the day and ensuing night, arrangements were made for the forcible suppression of the mutiny. Two of His Majesty's Regiments, the Royals and 47th, with a detachment of Horse Artillery, and a troop of the Governor General's Body-Guard, were assembled at Barrackpore; and early on the 2nd of November were drawn up perpendicularly to the Sipahi lines, the Artillery being posted something in the rear. The 47th N. Regiment was formed in front of the lines; and on their left, but in rear of them, the 26th and 62nd, the other corps which were also under orders to march, were stationed. Above a hundred of the latter, and about twenty of the former, fell in with the 47th. The rest stood firm, although participating in the feelings which agitated the devoted regiment. The native officers of the 47th separated themselves from the men. The Commander-in-Chief, with his staff, was on the ground. During the night, a petition had been addressed to him by the mutineers, in which they declared, that they had been told they were to be embarked on board ship for Rangoon, and that, as they could not obey the order without loss of caste, they would not comply with it. They prayed, therefore, to be dismissed, and allowed every man to return to his home. They were informed, that no intention of sending them on board ship had been entertained; but that regard could not be paid to soldiers in a state of rebellion, and that they must lay down their arms without stipu-

lating for conditions. Whether this reply was made intelligible to them, or in what manner it may have been received, there are no means of ascertaining. At daybreak, the regiment was paraded. Officers, to whom it was thought they might be disposed to listen, were sent to the Sipahis, with orders either to agree to march immediately or to ground their arms; but their commands and remonstrances were repelled with an insane vehemence, which, there was reason to fear, might have ended in the perpetration of some atrocious crime. They were left, therefore, to themselves; and they stood with ordered arms in a state of stupid desperation, resolved not to yield, but making no preparation to resist.[1] When it appeared that their stubbornness was not to be overcome by expostulation, a discharge from the artillery guns was opened upon them. They instantly broke, and fled. As they crossed the parade, they were fired upon by the Infantry, and charged by the Body-Guard, and many paid with their lives the penalty of their disobedience. A number made for the river, which skirts the plain of Barrackpore to the north, and several perished in attempting to cross it.[2] A number were made prisoners on the

[1] It appeared, upon the evidence, before the Court of Inquiry, appointed to investigate the causes of the mutiny, that of the many musquets which were left on the field, scarcely one was loaded, although the men had each forty rounds of ammunition; yet it was deliberately asserted in the House of Commons by the President of the Board of Control, if his speech is accurately reported, that when the Royals were advancing the mutineers fired upon them. The same authority has been made to say, that there was no ground of complaint as to any want of proper accommodation.—Debates on Mr. Hume's Motion for Papers, 22nd of March, 1827.

[2] In the reports at first prevailing, it was said, that one hundred and eighty or two hundred were killed. In an account by Major Pogson,

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spot, and others were apprehended by the country-people and police. These were tried by native courts martial, and by their sentence some of the ringleaders were hanged, and others condemned to hard labour in irons.[1] The number of the 47th Regiment was effaced from the list of the army, and the native officers were dismissed from the service; as it was argued, that the mutiny could not have been planned and executed without their knowledge, if not with their participation. That these judgments were in some respects more severe than the occasion demanded was evidently felt, both by the Government of Bengal and the authorities in England. In the following April, the former remitted the punishment of the individuals detained in custody, in consideration of the good conduct of the 26th Regiment in Arakan, and thus anticipated orders of a like tenor, which were received from the Court of Directors at the end of the year. Whether any measures of a more deliberate and lenient description were advisable, on the morning of the 2nd of November, may perhaps admit of question, although it seems possible, that, if a short delay had been granted to the mutineers, they might have become conscious of the folly and danger of persisting in their disobedience. However this might have been, little doubt can be entertained, that an early and conciliatory acknowledgment of the wants of the troops in the article

Brigade-Major at Barrackpore at the time of the mutiny, he observes, that the report was greatly exaggerated, and that only eleven bodies were found in the lines and on parade, although more were, very probably, killed in the pursuit, or drowned in attempting to cross the river. —British Friend of India Magazine, October, 1842.

[1] General Orders, November 4th.

of conveyance for their baggage, and a liberal consideration of the difficulties under which they undeniably laboured, might have mitigated the irritation which had been excited, and extinguished the flame of discontent before it had been rendered ungovernable by the accessories on which it had fed.[1]

The strength of the Burmas in Arakan had been greatly reduced by the departure of their best troops to reinforce the army of the Irawadi; and those who remained were withdrawn from the frontier stations, and concentrated in the capital, under the command of the Atwen-wun Maunza, an officer of distinguished intelligence and courage. The force at his disposal was, however, utterly unequal to contend with that by which he was about to be assailed; and the province must have speedily submitted, if its conquest had not been retarded by physical obstacles. Of no great breadth in its widest parts, Arakan becomes narrower, as it runs southward, until the mountains forming its eastern boundary terminate in a point, at the headland of Cape Negrais. The capital and the chief towns are situated in the southern and narrowest portion, and to them the march of the army was directed; but the whole country was covered by impervious and pestilential forests, through which roads were to be opened, and it was intersected by numerous rivers, which, rising in the Yuma mountains, ran westwards to the sea, and as they approached the latter widened into vast estuaries, which could be

[1] This was the opinion of several officers of rank and experience, given in evidence before the Court of Inquiry.

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traversed only after much labour and delay. The line of coast was, however, selected for the march of the troops, as presenting fewer impediments than the thickets of the interior, and in the expectation, that the flotilla would provide transport for the stores, and facilitate the passage of the troops across the mouths of the rivers. General Morrison accordingly moved from Chittagong early in January, and, on the 1st of February, arrived on the northern bank of the estuary of the Naf. A detachment was sent across to occupy the port of Mangdu, from which the Burmas had retired; and no opposition was offered to the passage of the army. It was not effected before the 12th; and even then, most of the baggage was left behind, and great part of the cattle destined for its conveyance had not arrived. A division was halted at Mangdu, to bring on the cattle and stores; and the main body moved on to Tek Myoo, another great arm of the sea, about five marches south from that of the Naf, and of still more ample extent, being above three miles broad, and running above fifty-four miles inland. A part of the force which had been sent by sea, encountered a squall, by which the flotilla was dispersed, and several of the boats were driven on shore with the loss of baggage and ammunition, but fortunately without loss of life. This occurrence added to the delay, which the passage of Tek Myoo occasioned; and a whole month elapsed before the army was encamped on the east of the estuary at Chankrain, situated on a branch of the Koladyne river, a chief river of Arakan, leading to the capital, being navigable with-

in a few miles of the city for boats of burthen. A sufficient force for movements in advance was assembled at Chankrain, on the 20th of March[1]; and the right wing of the army was pushed forward to cover the working parties, employed in rendering the different canals and water-courses passable, while the left threatened some stockades at Kiung-pala, higher up the stream, which had been the scene of a temporary check before the arrival of the army. Commodore Hayes with a division of the flotilla, having on board a company of His Majesty's 54th, and detachments of the 10th and 16th Madras Infantry, had entered the Arakan river towards the end of February, for the purpose of exploring its course and ascertaining how far it was navigable. Having received information which induced him to believe, that a stockade at Kiung-pala might be captured by the force under his command, he brought his vessels abreast of the works, and opened a cannonade upon them. They proved to be stronger than he expected; and he was obliged to retreat after sustaining some loss[2]. Before the advance of the army towards the capital, the stockade was abandoned.

The route to Arakan, following the direction of the river, was intersected by numerous channels

[1] His Majesty's 54th, 10th Madras N. I., and left wing of 16th, sent by sea. The field battery, His Majesty's 44th, 1st L. I. Battalion, four companies of the 42nd Bengal N. I., five of the 62nd, Bengal N. I., right wing of the 16th Madras N. I., and two troops of Local Horse.

[2] Six persons were killed, and thirty-two wounded. Among the former, were Mr. Rogers, second officer of the gun-brig Research, and Major Schalch of the Engineers, an officer of distinguished merit, who was on board the Research.

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leading into it, and occasionally by low ranges of hills between the gorges of which it flowed. The channels, all within the influence of the tide, were generally fordable at the ebb; and, although they retarded, they did not essentially obstruct the march. No attempt was made by the enemy to defend the passage of any of them. But on the 26th, they made a stand on the Padho hills, where they had constructed entrenchments: they were soon driven from their defences. On the following morning, they were found stockaded at Mahati, a post of considerable strength; but after exchanging a cannonade, in which their guns did little execution, they abandoned their works, and fell back upon Arakan, where their final effort for the maintenance of their power in the province was to be made.

The approach to Arakan on the southern and eastern sides, lay across a narrow valley, bounded by a range of hills about four hundred feet high, the summit of which was crowned by a series of stockades, and garrisoned by the whole Burma force, estimated at nine thousand men. A belt of jungle ran along the skirt of the hills; but beyond it, the acclivity was steep and open, and commanded by the enemy's fire. At the northern extremity, a pass led over the hills; but this was defended by a battery of several pieces of artillery, and a strong body of troops. The British force was formed for the attack on the morning of the 29th March, in the valley at the foot of the hills.

The first operations were directed to force the pass. The assault was led by the Light Infantry

Company of His Majesty's 54th, four Companies of the 2nd Light Infantry Battalion, the Light Companies of the 10th and 16th Madras Infantry, with the Rifle Company of the Mug levy, and was supported by six Companies of the 16th Madras Light Infantry. The troops moved to the attack with perfect steadiness; but they were unable to make way against the steepness of the ascent, the fire to which they were exposed, and the shower of heavy stones rolled down upon them from above. After a fruitless struggle, in which every officer was disabled, and many of the men had fallen, it was judged expedient to desist; and the assailants were recalled[1]. The failure of the attempt rendered a change of plan advisable; and while the attention of the enemy was kept on the alert in front, it was determined to turn the position by a movement on their right. The guns were accordingly brought into position on the 30th; and on that and the following day a brisk fire was maintained upon the Burma defences. On the evening of the 31st, Brigadier Richards with a detachment[2], ascended the range by a circuitous route, and had established himself on the summit, before his movement was detected by the enemy. On the following morning, the division attacked the Burmas in flank, while the main body again assailed them in front. They offered but a feeble resistance; and abandoned Arakan to the British arms, retreating across the

[1] Captain Trant, of the 16th Madras N. I., was killed.

[2] Six Companies of His Majesty's 44th, three of the 26th, and three of the 49th, thirty seamen, and as many dismounted troopers of Gardner's Horse.

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low lands between the city and the mountains, and crossing the latter by the passes of Talak and Aeng.

The town of Arakan, situated on the banks of a branch of the Koladyne river, on an irregular square plain, enclosed by hills, presented few traces of its former greatness. A stone fort defended its north-west angle, and works of considerable strength in the shape of walls, and embankments of masonry, crowned the hills, and filled up whatever gaps were left by their inferiority of height—forming a line of circumvallation of nine miles in extent. The different elevations adjacent to the town were surmounted by Buddhist temples; but the town itself presented no buildings of any consideration, being a mere collection of mud and mat or bamboo hovels. The greater portion of the population had abandoned the place; but they speedily returned, and submitted readily to a change of masters. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be effected, the main body of the army was quartered in the vicinity of the town, and detachments were sent out to complete the reduction of the other divisions of the province. A force[1], under Brigadier General Macbean, marched in April against Sandoway and the island of Ramri. A descent had been made upon the latter, early in February, by Lieut.-Colonel Hampton, commanding at Cheduba, with a few men of His Majesty's 54th, and European Artillery, five hundred of the 10th N. I., and seamen and marines from the Hastings frigate.

[1] Four Companies of His Majesty's 44th, eight of the 40th Bengal N. I., 16th Madras N. I., and eight guns.

But the ignorance or treachery of the guides misled the division away from the point it was intended to assail; and, after exposing them at disadvantage to the fire of the enemy in a tract overspread with thicket, compelled their re-embarkation. The success of the Burmas on this occasion failed to inspire them with confidence: and upon the arrival of General Macbean, it was found that they had abandoned their works, and passed over to the main-land. A detachment of Artillery, and eight Companies of the 10th, were left to garrison Ramri; and the rest proceeded to Sandoway, a town situated at the head of a tide inlet, about twelve miles from the sea. This was also deserted by the enemy. It was not thought necessary to leave any part of the force for its defence at the time; but Sandoway, as well as the islands of Ramri and Cheduba, proved to be so much less unhealthy as stations for the troops than the interior of Arakan, that they were all afterwards permanently occupied.

The final subjugation of Arakan accomplished one object of the equipment of General Morrison's force, and rescued a valuable territory from Burma oppression. The next principal object, co-operation with the force of General Campbell on the line of the Irawadi, was frustrated in the first instance by an imperfect knowledge of the country, and finally defeated by the insalubrity of the climate. The Burmas, in retreating from Arakan, had separated into small parties, whose track could not be pursued through the intricate jungle and labyrinth of water-courses, by which the land

between Arakan and the mountains was overspread. That passes through the mountains existed was self-evident; but of their number, their direction, and their practicability, the accounts were vague and unprecise; and little reliance was placed even upon such as were entitled to some credit. Thus the Aeng pass[1], which eventually proved to be practicable for cattle and artillery was wholly disregarded, while with singular infelicity, the only effort that was made followed a direction beset with almost insurmountable difficulties. A detachment placed under the orders of Major Bucke was sent by water across a tract of low jungly land, intersected by numerous rivulets, extending about eighty miles to Talak, at the foot of the mountains. From Talak, the division made four marches up the ascent, in which they encountered extreme fatigue, from the rugged and precipitous nature of the road and the deficiency of water. When within one stage of Thantabain on the Burma frontier, it was ascertained that the enemy was posted there in force; and the exhausted state of the detachment, with the impracticability of the route, compelled Major Bucke to retrace his steps, and return to Arakan, where disease had now begun its ravages, and very soon

[1] It is mentioned by Capt. Pemberton, that an accurate account of the pass was furnished to Government by Mr. Robertson, the Political Agent at Chittagong, in July, 1824, and that the same officer also mentioned its existence to General Morrison. No attempt was made to ascertain the real nature of this line of communication; and it was not until the end of the war, that its practicability was experimentally proved, by the march of a detachment with elephants across it, from Sembegwen on the Irawadi, to Aeng in Arakan, in eleven days.—Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier, p. 101. Lieut. Trant, who accompanied the party, has described it in detail.—Two Years in Ava, p. 416.

incapacitated the army from any further activity. The setting in of the monsoon early in May, in a country inundated by numerous muddy streams, and thickly overspread with close and pestiferous jungle, could not fail to produce its usual deleterious effects on the health of soldiers necessarily exposed to the malignant influence of the atmosphere. The situation of the town of Arakan was found to be peculiarly insalubrious, being traversed by branches of the Koladyne river, surrounded by thickets and shut in by hills. There was no want of supplies as at Rangoon; but the sickness and mortality, attributable evidently to climate, needed no aggravating causes. No rank was exempt; and a very large proportion of the officers experienced the fatal effects of the climate. Their only chance of escape was timely removal to a more healthy locality; but this did not always avail. Brigadier General Morrison himself, after struggling through the campaign, was obliged to quit the country, and died on his way to Europe. By the end of the rainy season, a fourth of the men had died, and more than half the survivors were in hospital[1]. The

[1] In the course of August, the deaths were eight officers, seventy Europeans, four hundred and twenty Sipahis, and two hundred camp followers, above seven hundred men. Between May and September, two hundred and fifty-nine Europeans out of one thousand five hundred died; and of the rest, nearly four hundred were in hospital. Of eight thousand native troops, eight hundred and ninety-two had died, and three thousand six hundred and forty-eight of the survivors were in hospital. The peculiarities of the locality, combined with the effects of the climate, sufficiently accounted for the mortality. "The town of Arakan lies on the banks of a muddy river, and is buried among hills, and invested on every side with jungle and morass. The tide overflows the flat borders of the river to a considerable extent. Its reflux converts them into a noisome swamp; and in this swamp, strange to say, the town of Arakan is built, the water flowing under the houses which are raised on posts"—Grierson, Endemic Fever and Medical

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place was, however, reluctantly relinquished; and it was not until the end of the year, that the measure of abandoning Arakan received the sanction of the new Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere. It could then no longer be doubted that all precautions, all remedial skill, were unavailing to combat with the inclement climate and deadly atmosphere of Arakan. And the scanty remnants of this once powerful armament, instead of carrying victory to the banks of the Irawadi, were scattered among the stations on the coast which had proved comparatively healthy, or were recalled to the Presidencies for whence they had been despatched. An immense expenditure of treasure and loss of life had been incurred to little purpose; and the humiliation of the presumptuous Court of Ava, was still left to be achieved by the army of Rangoon.

Topography of Arakan. Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc. of Calcutta, ii. 201. "The causes of the sickness were too obvious to be overlooked. The locality was sufficient to satisfy every medical observer, that troops could not inhabit it with impunity; and a reference to the meteorological register will shew a severity of season, to which the men were quite unaccustomed, and which no covering could resist. In July, August, and September, the fall of rain was one hundred and twenty-three inches, of which one hundred and three fell in the first two months. The climate was as deadly to animals, as to man. Elephants, horses, and bullocks died in vast numbers; and of the camels, not one returned to Hindustau."— Burnard, Medical Topography of Asam.—Ibid. vol. iii. p. 25. "In a country like Arakan, and in cantonments such as have been described, it seems not difficult to trace the causes of disease; and after what has been advanced, regarding the influence of a raw, variable and impure atmosphere, little remains to be said, either of the causes of the sickness, or the mortality which followed it."— Stevenson on the Sickness prevailing in Arakan.—Ibid. iii. 36. "The deadly unhealthiness of Arakan was well known to the people of the country, aud to the Burmas, who, before, during and since the war, have uniformly asserted that the city of Arakan is the most unhealthy spot in their country during the rains. This extreme insalubrity is confined to the capital, as neither of the other stations, Sandoway, Kyuk-Phoo; Cheduba, or Akyab, have proved much more inimical to the health of the native troops, thau the other military stations on the eastern frontier of Bengal".—Pemberton, 158.

CHAPTER IV.

Rangoon.—Friendly Disposition of the People of Pegu,—invited to elect a Prince.—Communication with Chiefs,—Military Co-operation offered,—not received.—Determination of Sir A. Campbell to advance,—in two Columns,—one by Land,—one by Water.—Detachment sent against Bassein.—Burmas retreat to Donabew, and Detachment returns to Rangoon.—March of the Land Column to Tharawadi,—found deserted,—thence to Yuadit,—whence it returns to Donabew.—Proceedings of Water Column,—Arrival below Donabew.—Attack of Stockades,—Insufficiency of Force,—Junction of Land Column,—Batteries opened,—Sally of Burmas with Elephants,—Repulsed.—Death of Bandoola.—Donabew evacuated,—Arrival at Prome,—Force cantoned for the Rains,—Negociations for Peace.—Aggression of Siamese on the Tenaserim Coast,—Repulsed.—Mission to the Burma Camp at Miaday.—Armistice agreed to.—Conference with the Kyi Wungyi.—Terms of Peace,—objected to by the Burmas,—Renewal of Hostilities.—Repulse of British at Watigaon.—Advance of Burma Army,—attacked,—Defeat of their Left,—of their Right and Centre,—Retreat to Melloon.—Advance to Patanagoh.—Treaty with Ministers not ratified.—Entrenchments at Melloon carried.—Advance to Pagahm.—Final Defeat of

the Burma Army.—Affairs in Pegu.—Advance of Main Army to Yandabo,—Negociations for Peace,—Treaty concluded,—Conditions,—Return of the Troops.—Reflections on the War,—its Inevitableness,—the Mode of its Prosecution,—Value of Acquisitions.

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The situation of the British forces at Rangoon had undergone a rapid improvement after the dispersion of the Burma army and the capture of the stockades at Kokien. With the altered condition of the atmosphere, the progress of disease was arrested, and the efficiency of the force was re-established. Re-inforcements were also received, and the political state of the country became more propitious. The inhabitants, who were mostly of the Talien or Pegu race, began now to look with confidence to the ability of the British to effect their emancipation from their Burma masters, and hastened to place themselves under the new administration. A proclamation addressed to them by Sir Archibald Campbell confirmed them in their favourable sentiments, and invited them to choose a chief of their own nation, whom the English General engaged to acknowledge[1]. The extinction of the ancient ruling dynasty deterred the Peguers from complying with the invitation, although three Talien chiefs, in the service of Siam, who were at the head of a considerable body of troops in the neighbourhood of Martaban, opened a friendly communication with the British Commander in the beginning of the year, requesting that an amicable

[1] Appendix II.

intercourse with Siam should be maintained, and offering, if required, to advance and join the English with five thousand men[1]. It did not appear, however, that they acted under any orders from the Court of Bankok, or that they were authorised to furnish military aid; and the offer was therefore declined, although general assurances were expressed of a friendly disposition. Neither was it thought advisable to prosecute the project of encouraging the people to recover their independence, as, however attended it might be with present benefit, it might lead to eventual inconvenience[2]. No steps were taken, therefore, to give effect to Sir A. Campbell's proclamation; but the favourable effects which it had produced, and the manifest good-will of the Talien Chiefs and people, obviated all anxiety respecting the internal tranquillity of the province after the last remains of the Burma armament should have been expelled. This was speedily accomplished. One division, which had re-occupied the Pagoda at Syriam, was driven out by Lieut.-Colonel Ebrington, without difficulty. A stronger force, stockaded at Thantabain on the Lyne river, was also dislodged by Colonel Godwin early in February; and the route to the north was open for the advance of the army.

The serious difficulties by which the British army at Rangoon was encompassed, through the absence of means of conveyance, and the deficiency of supplies, early suggested doubts of the possibility of penetrating into the interior of the kingdom of

[1] Documents, Burmese War, p. 119, 120.

[2] Letter from Lord Amherst to Sir Thomas Munro, Life, 2, 124.

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Ava by the line of the Irawadi, and induced Sir A. Campbell deliberately to contemplate the adoption of a different plan of operations; either to direct his route to the south, and march on the capital by way of Martaban, through Old Pegu, or to re-embark his troops, after leaving a strong garrison in Rangoon, for the coast of Arakan, and thence endeavouring to cross the mountains into Ava. Fortunately for the British arms, the hesitation of the Bengal Government to approve of either project[1], and the improved knowledge of the country acquired during the latter months of the year, prevented the Commander of the army from having recourse to either of these alternatives, and satisfied him of the greater practicability as well as the superior advantage of adhering to the original design, and advancing towards the capital partly by land, partly by water, as soon as the state of the country should admit of such a combined movement.

After surmounting the embarrassment and delays inseparable from a deficient supply of conveyance,

[1] The Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Munro, with his characteristic discernment, strongly objected to both plans, and urged the advance by the Irawadi. "I have already," he remarks, "given my opinion on the main point, namely, that the plan of advancing by the Irawadi was preferable to that of marching south, or re-embarking, and landing at Arakan. I can see no object in his going to Martaban, because it would not facilitate his advance to the capital, as, according to his own account, even if the Siamese and Peguers were to take a part in the war, he would still require draught and carriage equipments from Bengal. With regard to the plan of re-embarking the Rangoon force, and landing it at Arakan, nothing could justify such a measure but the certainty of being furnished there with an equipment of draught and carriage-cattle. If they could not obtain it, they would be still more helpless than where they are now, and we should have lost reputation, and given confidence to the enemy."—Letter to Lord Amherst, 23rd Aug., 1824.—Life, 2, 131.

Sir A. Campbell completed his arrangements. Leaving a garrison in Rangoon consisting chiefly of native troops, with such Europeans as were yet unfit for field duty, he formed the remainder of his force into three divisions: one of the strength of two thousand four hundred under his own command[1]; one of half that strength under Brigadier-General Cotton[2]; and one something less than six hundred strong under Major Sale[3]. The latter was directed to move against Bassein; and, after clearing the province, to cross the country, and join the main body at Henzada on the Irawadi. The division under General Cotton was to proceed by water, with a flotilla of sixty-two gun-boats, and all the boats of the men-of-war, under the command of Captain Alexander of the Royal Navy, and on its way was to carry the enemy's entrenchments at Panlang and Donabew. The column under Sir Arch. Campbell was to proceed by land to Prome on the Irawadi, where it was to be joined by the other divisions.

The detachment under Major Sale proceeded by sea to Cape Negrais, where the Burmas had erected batteries; but they were quickly driven from them by the fire of the ships; and the troops landed and destroyed the works. The squadron then ascended the Bassein river to the town of that

[1] The land column was formed of His Majesty's 38th, 41st, and 47th, three Native Battalions, the Body-Guard, a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, and part of the Rocket Troop, with which the army had been latterly reinforced.

[2] His Majesty's 89th, 1st Madras European Regiment, two hundred and fifty of the 18th N. I., Foot Artillery, and part of the Rocket Troop.

[3] His Majesty's 13th and 12th Madras Native Infantry, with details of Artillery.

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name; but they found that the Burmas had abandoned it, having first set it on fire. From Bassein the enemy had retreated to Lamina, sixty miles distant, and were followed thither by the division in boats, as the depth of water was insufficient for the ships. The Burmas had again retreated, and fallen back upon their main position at Donabew, above forty miles distant inland. An attempt was made to pursue them; but the want of carriage rendered it impossible for the division to advance. Major Sale accordingly returned to Bassein, and thence sailed back to Rangoon, whence he joined the reserve column on its march to Prome. This expedition against Bassein was attended with no political or military benefit, and was planned evidently upon imperfect information regarding the nature of the country to be traversed, and a miscalculation of the benefits to be expected from such a diversion.

The column commanded by Sir Archibald Campbell marched on the 13th of February, following the course of the Lyne river at some short distance from its left bank. On the 17th it arrived at Mophi, where, from information received from the Karens, or hill-people, who displayed a favourable feeling towards the British, it was ascertained that Maha Thilwa, with a considerable force was posted. Upon arriving on the ground, the enemy had disappeared, except a small party, which had taken shelter in the remains of an old Pegu fort; but which, as the division approached, fled, after firing a few shots, into the adjacent jungle. The column halted at Mophi until the morning of the 19th, when it moved onwards to Lyne, the

capital of the province, where it arrived on the 23rd. The town was situated on the river side. The force was here in communication with the boats, bearing its stores; and halted to lighten their burthen, the river becoming too shallow for deeply laden vessels. Some supplies were also obtained from the Karen villages, which were found thinly scattered along the route. On the 1st of March, the column forded the Lyne river, and on the following day, after a march of fourteen miles in a north-westerly direction, reached Tharawa, on the main stream of the Irawadi. Much to the mortification of the force, the whole population of Tharawa was descried on the opposite bank of the river; and, soon after, was lost in the shades of an extensive forest. No means of crossing the river, here eight hundred yards broad, were found. At Tharawa, the column halted, in expectation of hearing news of General Cotton's brigade, until the 7th, when, from a cannonade heard in the direction of Donabew and information subsequently received, it was rather hastily concluded that the position had been taken. These accounts were confirmed on the following day; and the column moved on two marches in advance to Yuadit, when a despatch from General Cotton announced the failure of his attack, and the necessity of the employment of a more powerful force against it than that which was under his command.

The column that was destined to advance by water, moved on the 16th of February, and on the 19th, the van arrived at Panlang on the Rangoon river, where both banks were defended by stockades,

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while a third in front guarded a point where the channel divided. The shells and rockets from the flotilla cleared the entrenchments; and the troops, when landed, found them deserted. A division of the 18th Madras N. I. was left in one of the stockades, to keep open the communication with Rangoon. The others were destroyed, and the flotilla advanced to Yangan-chena, where the Rangoon branch separates from the Irawadi. The force entered the latter river on the 27th, and on the 28th the advance came in sight of Donabew, where Maha Bandoola had entrenched himself. Some delay occurred in passing the more heavily laden boats across the shallows into the Irawadi; but the whole were in the main stream by the 4th of March, and on the morning of the 6th took up a position on the right bank of the river, two miles below Donabew. The Burma General had been summoned to surrender, and had returned a courteous but resolute refusal.

The works at Donabew were of considerable strength and extent, lying along the right bank of the river, and commanding its whole breadth. The chief work, a parallelogram of one thousand by seven hundred yards, stood on a bank withdrawn from the bed of the river in the dry season, and rising above it. Two others, one of which was a square of two hundred yards, with a pagoda in the centre, and the other, an irregular work, four hundred yards from it, stood lower down on the river; forming outworks to the principal stockade, and commanded and supported by its batteries. All three were constructed of squared beams of timber,

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provided with platforms, and pierced for cannon; and each had an exterior fosse, the outer edge of which was guarded with sharp-pointed bamboos, and a thick abatis of felled trees and brushwood. One hundred and forty guns of various calibre, besides a still greater number of ginjals, were mounted on the parapets, and the garrison consisted of twelve thousand men, commanded by the most celebrated general in the service of Ava. The assailants bore no proportion to the defenders; for General Cotton had left his native regiment at Panlang, and part of his Europeans, to guard the boats with stores. His whole available force did not, therefore, exceed six hundred bayonets, a force manifestly inadequate to the storming of Donabew, even with the assistance of the guns of the flotilla. The orders of the Commander-in-Chief, however, leaving, in General Cotton's opinion, no alternative, he made arrangements for the attack. At sunrise, on the 7th, two columns composing together five hundred men, advanced against the smaller stockade, supported by the fire of two field-pieces, and of a rocket battery. They were encountered by a fire kept up with more steadiness than the Burmas had lately displayed; but the troops disregarded it, and rushed impetuously on the work into which they forced their way. The garrison, after suffering severely, fled over their defences, but many were intercepted by such of the troops, as, unable to penetrate into the interior, spread round the parapet, and cut off the fugitives. The stockade was soon in the possession of the assailants.

The second of the entrenchments was next at-

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tempted. A battery was erected in advance of the captured stockade, and when it was thought that a sufficient impression had been produced, a column of two hundred men was sent forward to storm the work. The Burmas remained quiet until the assailants had advanced to within a few yards, when a heavy fire was poured upon them, by which the leading men were struck down, and the column turned from the point of attack. The men endeavoured to shelter themselves in a ditch, which was, however, exposed to the fire of the enemy. Captain Rose, who had led the party, was shot while endeavouring to rally his men, and Captain Cannon of the 89th was mortally wounded. The loss of men was also severe, and it became necessary to recall them. It was now evident, that Donabew was too strong to be reduced by General Cotton's division, and he desisted from a further unprofitable expenditure of life. The guns and stores were re-embarked, and the flotilla dropped down to the position at Yung-yung, which it had occupied on the 6th, and there awaited the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief.

However anxious to accelerate his onward march, Sir A. Campbell could not avoid feeling the necessity of a retrograde movement against Donabew, not merely to redeem the reputation of the British arms, but to free his rear from a force which cut off his communication with Rangoon, and by commanding the river-navigation rendered it impossible for supplies to reach him by water. As soon as positive information of the check which had been sustained was received, he

retraced his steps, and, leaving Yuadit on the 11th, returned to Tharawa on the 13th. Here it was necessary to cross the Irawadi; for which purpose no other means existed than a few canoes capable of conveying but a small number of men at a time, and utterly unfit for the carriage of guns and stores. By great exertion, however, and the construction of rafts for the reception of the heavier articles, the passage was effected in the course of five days, and the army was assembled on the right bank of the Irawadi, by the 18th of March. The head-quarters were at Henzada, a town of some extent: the vicinity of which was ornamented by a number of handsome Buddhist temples and monasteries, sheltered by groves of mangoes and tamarinds, Neither priests nor people were, however, visible: the whole population of the town and neighbourhood having abandoned their habitations. No hostile force had opposed the occupation of the town; but information was received, that the Kyi Wungyi was posted at a distance of fifteen or twenty miles from Henzada; and it was thought possible to surprise him. Lieut.-Colonel Godwin, with His Majesty's 41st, the Body-Guard, and a brigade of guns, made a night march with this object. They came upon a party of Burmas at daybreak, who immediately dispersed and fled, but the main body had previously effected their retreat, leaving the country open for the advance of the army. This was made with as much expedition as was practicable, in the absence of all regular roads, and the delay caused by having to cut a pathway through the intricate jungle of brushwood

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and tall reeds, by which the surface was overspread. On the 25th, the force came before Donabew, and preparations were immediately commenced for the attack of the main entrenchments, against which it was necessary to proceed in form. The Burma General was equally active; and, on the same night, before the troops had well taken up their position, directed a well-judged sortie against the right of the line. It was repulsed without much loss on either side, but was a favourable indication of the spirit with which the enemy were animated, and of the military talents of the commander.

The army having been encamped above the works, while the water column was some way below them, a short delay occurred in establishing a communication; but, on the 27th, the flotilla weighed with a fair breeze, and sailed past the stockades under the fire of all the guns the Burmas could bring to bear upon it. At the same time, a sally took place on the west side, headed by a line of seventeen elephants, each carrying five or six men, armed with musquets and ginjals, and supported by a body of Casay horse, and a dense mass of foot. The army was drawn up to receive them. They advanced steadily to within a short distance, when, being staggered by a well-maintained fire of musquetry and artillery, their discomfiture was completed by a charge of the Body-Guard. The Elephants losing their drivers, and becoming unmanageable, broke away and fled into the thicket; the Horse followed their example, and the Foot retreated precipitately into the stockade. Upon the junction of the flotilla, with the battering-train and

stores on board, the heavy guns and mortars were immediately landed, and placed in battery; during which operation, shells and rockets were diligently thrown into the entrenchments. Some attempts to interrupt the progress of the battery were made by the enemy, but without effect, and the guns opened on the morning of the 3rd of April. They were unanswered by the stockade, and shortly after they commenced firing, the Burmas were discovered in full retreat, through the adjoining brushwood. It was soon ascertained, that the death of their general had paralysed the energies of the garrison. Maha Bandoola had been killed on the previous night by the bursting of a shell, and with him expired the courage of his followers. Despairing of success, they refused to prolong the resistance, and evacuated the entrenchments, carrying with them the ashes of their chief, whose body had been burned. The death of Bandoola spared him the mortification of beholding the disastrous termination of that war which he had been mainly instrumental in exciting, and which he alone had the ability and courage to maintain, if not with hope, at least with reputation[1].

The capture of Donabew removed the only remaining obstruction to the prosecution of the main object of the campaign, and as soon as the post was taken possession of, Sir A. Campbell resumed his march. He was at Tharawa with his advance on his way to Prome on the 7th of April, and on the 8th was there joined by reinforcements from Ran-

[1] The loss of the British in the affairs at Donabew was, thirty killed, and one hundred and thirty-four wounded.

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improved. The banks of the Irawadi were now of some elevation above the level of the sea, while a range of low heights skirted the town on the south; and on the right bank, well-wooded spurs from the boundary mountains of Arakan came down to the water's edge. To the west of the town lay the river, here two miles broad. On the north and east, stretched a cultivated plain several miles in extent, studded with villages. The consequences of the favourable change of topographical position were highly propitious to the health and spirits of the troops; and although the state of the weather prevented their being actively employed during the months of June, July, and August, and although they did not wholly escape from the visitations of sickness incident to the season, and to irregular and indifferent supplies, yet the efficiency of the main body was unimpaired, disease was comparatively limited, and casualties were rare. The period was not without its excitement, and parties were occasionally detached to explore the country, conciliate the people, and ascertain the purposes of the enemy. Attempts at negociation were also set on foot with both Ava and Siam.

On the march to Prome, when within thirty miles of the city, a letter was brought into camp by a British soldier of the 38th, who had been taken prisoner by the Burmas and been liberated for this mission, addressed to Sir A. Campbell, by two of the Atwen-wuns, or Royal Councillors. It stated, that the two Governments had always been on terms of friendship until the breaking out of the present war, which had arisen out of the con-

BOOK III. CHAP. IV. 1825. duct of a certain paltry chief, and that it was very desirable that a communication should be opened, by which the blessings of peace might be restored. A reply was sent, to intimate that the Commander of the British army purposed to advance to Prome; but that, on his arrival there, he would willingly hold a conference with the Burma officers for the re-establishment of peace between the two nations: to which an answer was received, expressing the satisfaction of the Atwen-wuns, but intimating their hope, that the British army would halt on the spot where the letter was received, and not proceed to Prome—a request, which inspired Sir Archibald Campbell with a distrust of the sincerity of the parties—a distrust confirmed by the cessation of further communication. In truth, the Court, notwithstanding the shock inflicted by the fate of Bandoola, was not yet weaned from its belief in its ability to expel the invaders; and a strong faction, at the head of which were the Queen and her brother, influenced the King to persist in his hostility. The Prince of Tharawadi, the King's brother, under whose sanction the two Atwen-wuns had addressed the British General, appears, however, to have been sincerely desirous of entering into the proposed negociation: and, although his army had been reinforced by a body of six thousand men, he quitted his camp, and repaired to Ava to urge pacific counsels, which, as subsequent events proved, he advocated in vain.

Although the states of Ava and Siam were not declaredly at war and had no armies in the field, yet a feeling of enmity had for a long time past

divided the two courts, and had displayed itself in an unavowed course of mutual aggressions and reprisals on the frontiers, having for their object the burning of villages and the seizure of the inhabitants as slaves. In this reciprocity of petty outrage, the Siamese had especially harassed the southern provinces of the Tenaserim coast; and, in the beginning of 1825, either in real or pretended ignorance that the districts of Tavoy and Mergui had changed masters, the Raja of Chomphan, a dependency of Siam, appeared on the coast with a flotilla of war-boats, and, landing his men, laid waste the country and carried off the people. These excesses were speedily checked by the activity of the British authorities; and the Siamese flotilla was attacked, and dispersed. Negociations were presently afterwards opened with the Court of Bankok, which had the effect of putting an end to the incursions of the Siamese, and of recovering a considerable number of the people who had at various times been carried into captivity. Deputies were also despatched to Martaban to Colonel Smith, the officer in command, on the part of the Ron-a-ron, a chief of Talien origin, who had advanced towards the frontier at the head of a considerable force, and who expressed his earnest desire to co-operate with the British in liberating his native kingdom from the domination of the Burmas. Due encouragement was given to this demonstration, and means for facilitating the passage of the Sanluen river by the Siamese force were in course of preparation, when letters from the Prime Minister of Siam announced the recall of the Ron-a-ron and that of his troops to

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the capital. The death of the King, which took place in April, 1825, and the requisite presence of the chiefs at his funeral, and the installation of his successor, were the reasons assigned by the Prime Minister, in a letter to Colonel Smith; but a promise was added, that after the Monsoon the Siamese army should again take the field. This promise was not performed. The new King probably adopted a different policy from that of his predecessor, and contemplated the triumph of the British, and the projected independence of Pegu, with equal aversion. Nothing further was heard of the Siamese auxiliaries; but a friendly understanding subsisted, and many Talien and Burma captives and fugitives were allowed to return to their native country, to enjoy the security afforded by the protection of the British Government.

Upon receiving the intelligence of the fall of Donabew and the death of Bandoola, the first feeling of the Court of Ava was that of despair. It was, however, but of short duration; and the King was persuaded that the contest was not yet hopeless, and that the English might still be humbled. Great exertions were made to recruit the army. In place of the usual conscription, large bounties were given to the Burmas to induce them to enlist, and the tributary tribes of Shans, north of Ava, were summoned to support the general cause. They obeyed the summons, and joined the Burma army in large numbers, confiding in the fortunes of the kingdom, and unacquainted with the enemy they were eager to encounter. The principal force was assembled

at Miaday, about sixty miles from Prome, under the command of Mimiabo, a half-brother of the King; while other divisions were stationed at Pagahm, Melloon, and Patanagoh, amounting in all to about forty thousand men; of which one half was posted at Miaday. Another body, stated to be twelve thousand strong, was stationed at Tongho, the capital of the province of Tharawadi, to the north-east of Prome. To encounter these forces, Sir A. Campbell had under his command about five thousand men, of whom two thousand three hundred were Europeans. Detachments left at Rangoon, to the extent of about one thousand five hundred more, were under orders to join him. The state of his force, and the advanced position he had attained, rendered it highly improbable that the renewal of hostilities by the Court of Ava would be attended by a more favourable result than the past.

While both parties were thus prepared to resume active operations, they were not averse to the discontinuance of the contest; and, in compliance with the tenor of the injunctions which he repeatedly received from Bengal, to avail himself of every favourable opportunity of bringing the war to a close, Sir Archibald Campbell addressed a letter to the ministers of the King of Ava, from his head-quarters at Prome, stating his being authorised to negociate and conclude a peace, and inviting them to avert the misfortunes which impended over their country from the prosecution of the war, by a timely assent to equitable terms of pacification. The overture was promptly met[1]; and a de-

[1] According to General Campbell's own account, his letter was

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putation arrived from the Burma camp, to propose that a mission should be sent to the Prince Mimiabo, who held the chief command and was fully empowered by the King to treat, in order to specify the terms on which a pacific negociation should be based, and to make arrangements for a suspension of hostilities during the interval requisite for communicating with the Court. In conformity to the invitation, two officers, Lieut.-Col. Tidy, the Deputy Adjutant-General, and Lieut. Smith of His Majesty's ship Alligator, accompanied the Burma deputies to Miaday, where they found the Kyi Wungyi, at the head of the force. The Prince was at Melloon; and as it was necessary to refer to him for final orders, the British officers were delayed ten days in the Burma entrenchments, during which they were treated with perfect confidence and cordiality, and received from all persons of note with whom they were permitted to carry on unmolested intercourse, assurances that the sense of the nation was strongly opposed to the prolongation of the war. Favourable replies having arrived from Mimiabo, it was agreed that an armistice should be at once concluded from the 17th of September to the 17th of October, during which neither force should cross a line extending from Komma, on the west bank of the Irawadi, through Naibenzik to Tongho. The Kyi Wungyi engaged to meet the British General at Naibenzik, on the 2nd October, to determine

immediately acknowledged. He observes, "The time had scarcely elapsed for the reception of an answer, when such did actually arrive."—Document, 144, A.

the definitive conditions of peace. The meeting took place accordingly. Sir A. Campbell was accompanied by Sir James Brisbane, who had lately taken the command of the British Navy in the Indian seas, and had joined the army towards the end of September, and was attended by his personal staff, and a thousand picked men, both Europeans and Natives. A like number of Burmas formed the escort of the Kyi Wungyi, agreeably to his own request, as it was contrary to etiquette for the Burma minister to come with a smaller train. The parties met at Naibenzik, on a plain which had been cleared for the occasion, and in the centre of which, a building on the model of the Lotoo, or Hall of Audience, at Ava, had been constructed for the accommodation of the negociators. The Kyi Wungyi, was assisted by the Lamain Wun, and attended by other officers of rank. In the discussions that followed, perfect good-will and mutual courtesy prevailed. The chief of the Burma mission, the Kyi Wungyi, was an elderly man of pleasing deportment, mild disposition, and cheerful temper; and he and his colleagues readily responded to the cordiality of the British officers, and, as far as it was possible for habits so opposed, willingly conformed to the manners of the conquerors. It very soon appeared, however, that they were entirely unprepared for the demands made upon their Government by the British Commanders. The Court of Ava was expected to desist from all interference with Asam and Kachar, and to recognise the independence of Manipur. Arakan, with its dependencies, was to be given up to the British, and an

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indemnity of two crores of rupees was to be paid for the expenses of the war; until the discharge of which sum, Rangoon, Martaban, and the Tenaserim provinces, were to be held in pledge. A resident was to be received at Ava, and a commercial treaty to be concluded, by which the trade with Rangoon should be relieved from the exactions by which it had hitherto been repressed. These proposals were received by the Burma negociators with manifest surprise, and were strenuously resisted. The war, they maintained, had been occasioned by the protection given by the British to fugitives from the dominions of their sovereign; and had already inflicted upon the country an amount of expense and injury which might well appease the resentment of a great nation. The Chinese had formerly invaded and conquered part of Ava, but when peace was re-established, had given back the subjugated territory, and had exacted no pecuniary compensation: this example was worthy of imitation by the British. At any rate, they were unauthorised to accede to such conditions, and must refer them to the royal pleasure, for the ascertainment of which, a further delay was unavoidable; and they proposed, therefore, to extend the armistice to the beginning of November. This was readily granted, as military movements could not be conveniently commenced at an earlier period, and the interval enabled the British Commander-in-Chief to perfect his plans for the opening of the campaign. Little doubt was entertained, that recourse must be again had to arms; and the expectation became a certainty by the receipt of a

letter from the Burma chief, at the end of October, in which it was announced, that if peace was sincerely wished for by the English, they must empty their hands of what they held, and then solicit terms; but that if they made any demands for money for their expenses, or for any territory, friendship was at an end. Such was the custom of the Burmas. This announcement precluded all further negociations; and preparations were forthwith set on foot for the vigorous prosecution of the war. They were anticipated by the advance of the enemy.

As soon as the nature of the British requisitions was known at Court, the indignation of the Monarch was sensibly excited, and the representations of the party that deprecated any concession, re-obtained their former influence. It was still maintained to be possible to exterminate the British; and the army was ordered to move without delay upon Prome, the command being given to a veteran chief, who had formerly enjoyed a high military reputation for his services in Arakan, and who, at a very advanced age obeyed the call of his prince, and relinquished the retirement into which he had withdrawn, to lead the forces of his country, as he fully confided, once more to victory. Under his command, the Burma army drew towards the British lines at Prome, with a view to circumscribe their limits, and harass, and intercept their communications. A considerable body was accordingly thrown forward to Watigaon, twenty miles from Prome, where they entrenched themselves in a position which gave them the command over the

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country, on the right flank of the British army, and from which it was, therefore, necessary to dislodge them.

On the evening of the 15th November, Brigadier McDowall was dispatched against Watigaon, with four Regiments of the Madras N. I., disposed in three columns: the first, under Colonel McDowall himself, consisting of the 28th and 43rd Regiments, was intended to attack the position on the left; the second, formed of the 22nd Regiment, led by Major R. Lacy Evans, was to assail it in front, supported by the 18th, which was moved forward for that purpose. The 38th Regiment formed the third column, and moved to the eastward. The ground did not admit of the employment of artillery. The columns marched separately across a plain much broken by swamp and thicket, which prevented their mutual communication; and on their way, they were opposed by parties of the enemy, who shewed themselves in great strength; and who, although repulsed, retarded the progress of the columns. It thus became impossible to operate in concert; and when the principal body under Colonel McDowall approached the works, there was no appearance of the other divisions. As the brigade was unprovided with battering guns, the entrenchments could not be breached; and in the attempt to push forward and force an entrance, a heavy fire was poured upon the troops, by which their commander being killed and many of their officers disabled, Lieut.-Colonel Brooke, who succeeded to the command, was compelled to order a retreat. The Burmas pursued the retiring

detachment to within nine miles of Prome, and had thrown it into great disorder, when the movements of the other divisions also in retreat, effected a diversion in its favour.

The column under Major Evans fell in with the enemy's picquets early in the morning, and drove them in upon a strong stockade, from which so heavy a fire was encountered that the advance was almost annihilated. The firing from the main column was heard; but, as there appeared to be no prospect of its co-operation, the regiment retired, pursued for about three miles by the Burmas, and obliged to abandon the wounded; but otherwise retreating in good order. The 38th Regiment, under Colonel Smith, was unable to reach Watigaon before noon, by which time the other columns were in full retreat. A body of the Burmas were encountered and dispersed; but as no traces of the main division could be discovered, and the firing had ceased, it was concluded that the attack had failed, and the column returned, after a fatiguing march, to Prome, having met with no other opposition. The loss of the detachment was severe[1]. A principal cause of the failure appears to have been misinformation as to the strength of the Burma force, which had been reported not to exceed two or three thousand[2]. It was estimated, by the officers engaged, at five

[1] Besides the death of the Commanding Officer, ten officers were wounded, of whom, Lieut. Ranken, 43rd Madras N. I., died. Of the Native troops, fifty-three were killed, one hundred and ten were wounded, and forty-two were missing. A total loss of above two hundred.

[2] Despatch of Sir A. Campbell. Document 150.—According to Lieut. Trant, it consisted of eight thousand Shans, two thousand Burmas, and six hundred horse, under the command of Maha Nemyo.

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times that number. The separation of the attacking columns was also ill-judged; as the nature of the ground to be traversed, rendered it impossible for the different detached divisions to arrive simultaneously at their destination.

The success of the Burmas on this occasion confirmed them in their expectation of compelling the British army to retire from Prome, and encouraged them to advance within a few miles of the town. Their left under Maha Nemyo, which had lately triumphed at Watigaon, took post at Tsembike, on the Nawain river, a stream running past Prome, and falling into the Irawadi. The centre, commanded by the Kyi Wungyi, moved down to the heights of Napadi, within a distant view of the cantonments, and thence spread round to Watigaon. The Burma right, under the Tsada Wun, followed the right bank of the Irawadi to Padong, and thence detached a body to Shwe-doug in the rear. The former was occupied by a detachment of the Royals, who had thrown up an entrenchment, and repulsed every attempt of the Burmas to expel them. Colonel Godwin was despatched to drive the enemy from Shwe-dong; but he was anticipated by the 87th, which, on its way to join the main body, had been fired upon from that post, and had in consequence landed and dispersed their assailants, leaving the communication again open. The Tsada Wun fell back, so as to communicate with the Kyi Wungyi, occupying the rocks on the right bank of the river. The several divisions of the Burma army were all strongly entrenched. On their side, the British were diligently engaged in strengthen-

ing themselves with field-works and entrenchments, as if in apprehension of an attack, and in the hope of inviting it. This defensive attitude, however, failed in its object. The Burma generals adhered to the national tactics of a gradual and guarded approach; and it was evident, that the British front could be cleared of the enemy, only by assuming the initiative, and making an attack upon the Burma lines.

In pursuance of this determination, Sir Archibald Campbell, leaving four regiments of Native Infantry for the defence of Prome, marched, on the 1st of December, with the remainder of his force. Directing the flotilla, with a regiment of Native Infantry, to make a demonstration against the enemy's right, so as to engross their attention, he directed his principal attack against their left. The army was formed into two divisions; one, under the Commander-in-Chief, consisted of the 13th, 38th, 47th, and 87th Regiments of His Majesty's troops, and the 38th Madras N. I.: the other, under General Cotton, was composed of His Majesty's 41st and 89th Regiments, and the 18th and 28th Regiments of N. I. The second division, following the left bank of the Nawain river, came first upon the enemy's works about noon. They were immediately stormed and carried by Lieut.-Colonel Godwin, with the advance. The Burmas left three hundred dead in the entrenchments: their veteran general, Maha Nemyo, was among the slain. The division commanded by Sir A. Campbell was delayed by the difficulty of the route; but it arrived on the opposite bank of the Nawain as the fugitives were

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escaping from the stockades which the second division had carried, and completed their defeat. The first division then countermarched to Ziuk, at the ford over the Nawain, where it halted for the night: the second division bivouacked at Tsembike: both ready to follow up the advantage which had been gained by an attack on the right of the enemy's centre at Napadi.

On the morning of the 2nd the force advanced, and when arrived at the foot of the hill, divided into two columns: one of which, under Brigadier Cotton, took a circuitous direction to the right, so as to fall upon the enemy's flank; while the other, following the bank of the river, ascended the hills by narrow pathways obstructed by underwood. The flotilla at the same time pulled up the river, and throwing shells and rockets into the stockades on either bank, kept down the fire from the guns which defended the Burma position. As soon as this was effected, the troops moved to storm the entrenchments, the 13th and 38th Regiments under Colonel Sale proceeded along the river, supported on their right by six Companies of the 87th. They were encountered by a heavy fire, but pursued their way steadily without firing a shot, until they had gained the summit, when they drove the Burmas from the entrenchments, and followed them from hill to hill, until the whole position, two miles in extent, was in their possession. General Cotton was unable to penetrate through the thicket; but this was immaterial, as the works were gained, and the enemy had disappeared everywhere, except on the right bank of the river, where the Tsada

Wun still remained in force. On the 5th of December, Brigadier-General Cotton, with a part of his division, crossed the Irawadi, and drove the Burmas from the works on the river, and from a strong stockade in the interior[1]. The whole of the Burma force was thus, once more, broken up, and was further weakened by the almost entire desertion of the Shans, who returned to their own country. Thus reduced, the Burma commanders were unable to man the defences which they had constructed along the river, and abandoned their stockades at Miaday and Palha, which could not have been forced without loss. The reliques of the Burma army having fallen back to Melloon, they were followed thither by the British army, the march of which was delayed by the badness of the road, and by a temporary attack of cholera, which was fortunately of short continuance, and of which the ravages were most extensive among the retreating masses of the enemy, as was evidenced by the dead and dying, by which their route was marked. The force reached Miaday on the 19th, and after a short halt for supplies, resumed its advance, accompanied by the flotilla. The latter was met on the 26th by a flag of truce, bearing a message from the Burma Commander, stating that full powers had been received from the Court to conclude a treaty, and suggesting that deputies should be sent to discuss the conditions. The same officers

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[1] In these operations, the loss was twenty-five killed, and one hundred and twenty-one wounded. Three officers, Lieuts. Sutherland and Gossip, of His Majesty's 41st, and Lieut. Proctor, of His Majesty's 38th, were killed. Ensign Campbell, of the 1st, and Lieut. Baylee, of the 87th, were mortally wounded.

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who were formerly employed on a similar mission, Lieut.-Colonel Tidy and Lieut. Smith, R. N., were again sent on this duty. The army continued its march, and arrived at Patanagoh, opposite to Melloon, on the 29th, where it encamped. The flotilla also ascended the river, and was suffered to pass Melloon without molestation. The bank of the river occupied by the British being loftier than that on the opposite site, the whole of the interior of the Burma entrenchment could be distinguished from the camp. It was a quadrangular stockade, extending along the bank of the river, having in the centre, a conical hill, surrounded by a Pagoda, and fortified by a brick *revêtement*, which formed the key of the position. On the day before the arrival of the army at Patanagoh, a message was received from the Burma chief, proposing a meeting with the British Commissioners on the 24th of January, and repeating a proposal made to the deputies, that a suspension of arms should in the mean time take place. As the object of the proposition was obviously to gain time, it was at once declined, and the Wungyis were informed that no delay would be granted. As soon as the army was encamped, however, it was conceded to another messenger from the Chiefs to abstain from hostile operations on the ensuing morning, and to hold a conference with the Burma Chiefs on board a boat, which they undertook to fit up for the meeting, and anchor in the middle of the river. Accordingly, on the 30th, Sir Archibald Campbell, accompanied by Mr. Robertson, who had been appointed from Bengal as Civil Commissioner

conjointly with the Commander-in-Chief, and by Sir James Brisbane, repaired on board, and were met by four of the principal members of the Burma Government, Kolein Mengyi, who had been sent down from Ava, with powers to treat, the Kyi Wungyi, the Atwen-wun Mung Kyne, and Maha Thilwa. The stipulations were the same as those formerly proposed, and were encountered with the same objections. Those relating to territorial concession were not persisted in; but the unwillingness to pay a money indemnification was so insuperable, and the plea of inability so tenaciously urged, that the British Commissioners were induced to lower their demand to one crore of rupees. With this alteration, the Burma Commissioners professed themselves contented, and a definitive treaty was executed by them on the 3rd of January. An armistice was agreed upon until the 18th, by which period it was expected that the treaty would be returned from Ava with the royal ratification, the prisoners at Ava would be sent down, and the payment of the first instalment would be commenced. These expectations were disappointed.

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On the 17th of January, the day before the armistice expired, a deputation was sent by the Burma Commander to apologise for the non-arrival of the ratified treaty, and request a few days' prolongation of the time, offering to pay an instalment of five lakhs of rupees immediately, and to give hostages for the liberation of the prisoners. Compliance with the request was declined; and, on the 18th, a deputation proceeded to Melloon from the British camp, to apprise the Wungyis, that,

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unless the ratified treaty should arrive, or, unless they engaged to evacuate Melloon by sunrise on the 20th, the post would be attacked. For the former alternative they were unable to pledge themselves; and they refused to accede to the latter. Recourse to arms became consequently unavoidable.

The Burmas had not been idle during the interval which had elapsed since the first appearance of the British forces at Patanagoh; but had added extensively, although covertly, to the strength of their defences, and they had been joined by considerable reinforcements, making their numbers from sixteen thousand to twenty thousand. Their confidence, however, was too violently shaken, to enable them to avail themselves courageously of their resources; and the post of Melloon was abandoned after a feeble defence. The British batteries were opened upon the works before noon, on the 19th of January, with great effect; and under cover of their fire, a brigade of the 13th and 38th Regiments, conjointly less than five hundred strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Sale, crossed the river below the entrenchments, to assault the south-east angle, while the main force under General Cotton crossed higher up, in order to attack the northern front. The boats of the first division were carried rapidly down the current past the works of Melloon, from which a heavy fire was opened upon them; by which Colonel Sale and several of the men were wounded. The troops effected a landing, and after a short interval, escaladed the entrenchments. The Burmas made no further resistance, but retreated with such celerity, that they eluded the pursuit of

General Cotton's division, which had landed, and attempted to intercept their retreat. A great number of guns of various descriptions were found in Melloon, with abundant stores of ammunition and grain. The capture was attended with but trifling loss. The works were set on fire, and the army resumed its advance, anticipating, from the apparent resolution of the Court of Ava, the necessity of occupying the capital. One more effort was made by the war party to avert such a catastrophe.

Anxious as were the sovereign and his ministers to put an end to a contest which had inflicted so much injury and disgrace, and menaced consequences still more fatal; the conditions of peace, particularly the payment of an indemnification which was regarded with peculiar aversion, not only from the avaricious disposition of the king but as a confession of inferiority, and an unequivocal sign of degradation, were felt to be so intolerable, that any chance of escaping from them, however desperate, was eagerly grasped at; and the empty boast of a military chief that he would be answerable for the discomfiture of the invaders was listened to with credulity. Zay-yah-thuyan, the name of this individual, who was dignified with the title of Nuring Phuring, prince of Sun-set, was entrusted with the command of the greatest force that could be collected, amounting to about sixteen thousand men; and with these he engaged to cover the capital against the nearer approach of the British army. At the same time, it was thought prudent to keep open the negociation, and deputies were despatched to the British camp to ascertain the ultimatum of the

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Commissioners. Either from a distrust of its own officers, or in the belief that the choice would be acceptable to the British, the deputies of the Court on this occasion were Mr. Price, an American Missionary, settled at Ava, and Mr. Sandford, the Surgeon of the Royals, who had been taken prisoner: four other prisoners were set at liberty, and sent down with the deputies. The latter reached the head-quarters of the force, on the 31st of January, and after a conference with the Commissioners, returned to Ava: the stipulations previously proposed were insisted upon without modification.

In the mean time, the march of the army continued, and on the 8th of February, approached within five miles of the ancient city of Pagahm, the capital of the Burma empire at the season of its greatest power and prosperity. The city was enclosed by a ruinous brick wall, which had been partially repaired, but behind which the Burmas evinced no disposition to take shelter. Their new General had adopted a novel system of tactics; and discarding the national practice of combating behind entrenchments, arrayed his army in the open field among the remains of numerous pagodas, and amidst a thicket of prickly jungle, traversed by a narrow pathway, on either side of which he had arranged the chief body of his troops. The force with Sir A. Campbell, did not exceed thirteen hundred men, of whom nine hundred were Europeans; two regiments of the latter, the 47th and 87th detached to Tondwyne, to collect cattle and grain, as well as disperse a body of Burmas reported to be stationed there to harass the

British flanks, not having rejoined. With the limited force under his command, General Campbell moved to attack the superior numbers of the enemy on the morning of the 9th, advancing in two divisions. The first, commanded by himself, was formed of His Majesty's 13th and 89th Regiments, four guns of the Horse Artillery, and a detachment of the Body Guard. The 38th and 41st Regiments formed the second division, commanded by Brigadier Cotton; and the left was covered by the 43rd Madras N. I., following the line of the river. The European divisions were directed severally against the left and right wings, while the advance led by Sir A. Campbell, and consisting of two companies of the 13th, with the Horse Artilley and the Body Guard, occupied the centre. The several attacks were crowned with success; although for a short time the safety of the advance was compromised. Pushing forward with their usual impetuosity, and driving the enemy before them, they had left behind them the supporting columns, which were more slowly disengaging themselves from the narrow route by which they had to pass. Observing this, the Burma General ordered large detachments including a body of six hundred Casay horse, to close in from his centre and left, and cut off the most forward of his assailants from their main body. The necessity of a retreat was obvious; but it was made with a coolness and deliberation which deterred the Burmas from following up their advantage, the troopers of the Body-Guard forming in the rear, while the guns of the Horse Artillery were loaded, and opening to the left and

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right to allow of their being fired. In this manner, alternately forming and retreating, this small body checked the audacity of their pursuers; and the progress of the flank divisions speedily put an end to the danger. The Burmas were driven from the field; a stockade which covered their right flank was carried at the point of the bayonet; and the last army which the Court of Ava could hope to raise was destroyed. Its presumptuous commander returned to Ava, to carry the tidings of his defeat, and solicit the command of another army with which to retrieve his credit. He was ordered from the presence with contumely, and on the night of his arrival put to death. That the contest had become hopeless, and that the British arms had nothing more to apprehend from the exhausted energies of Ava became manifest to the people; and their conviction was evidenced by their return to their homes, which they had been forced by the Burma authorities to abandon. They flocked into Pagahm from every quarter; and numerous boats crowded with men, women, and children passed hourly down the river to the villages on the banks. The army halted a few days at Pagahm to recover from the fatigue which it had undergone, from the nature of the road and the increasing heat of the weather.

While these transactions were taking place on the upper course of the Irawadi, the province of Pegu had been the scene of some military movements of a chequered character, but ending in success. Upon the advance to Prome, it was not thought necessary at once to dislodge the Burmas

from the line of the Sitang river on the right flank of the army; but the duty was assigned to a division under Colonel Pepper, consisting of the flank companies of the Madras European Regiment, and three regiments of N. I., which marched from Pegu, in order to occupy Tongho, about eighty miles east of Prome. As the detachment advanced the Burmas abandoned their posts, and the detachment entered Shoegyun on the Sitang river, without opposition, on the 4th of January. It was here ascertained, that the former Governor of Martaban with a considerable body was stockaded at Sitang, in the rear of the advance, and intercepted the communication with the lower provinces. The 3rd Regiment of Madras N. I. under Lieut.-Colonel Conry, was sent back to dislodge the Burmas from the position; but this attack was repulsed with heavy loss, including the commander[1]. The disaster was immediately repaired by the activity of Colonel Pepper who falling down the river with his whole disposable force, attacked and carried the stockade by storm, on the afternoon of the 11th January. The works were strong and well situated, and were defended with spirit. The loss was proportionately severe[2]; that of the enemy was much greater. Colonel Pepper was reinforced after the capture of Sitang, in such a manner as to ensure the command of the country against any efforts yet in the power of the enemy to make.

[1] Besides Col. Conry, Lieut. Adams of the 3rd Regiment was killed; two officers, Lieuts. Harvey and Potter, were wounded; ten natives were killed, and nineteen wounded.

[2] Two officers, Capts. Cursham and Stedman, were killed. Major Home, Lieut. Fullerton, and Lieut. Power, were severely wounded. The loss in rank and file, was fourteen killed, and fifty-three wounded.

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After halting five days at Pagahm, Sir Archibald Campbell, on the 16th February, continued his march towards the capital, and had reached Yandabo, within sixty miles of Ava, when he was again met by the only negociators in whom the King had confidence, the American missionaries, Messrs. Price and Judson, accompanied by two Burma Ministers of rank, and by a number of prisoners who were liberated as a proof of the sincerity of the Court. A more convincing testimony was afforded by the first instalment of the contribution (twenty-five lakhs of rupees), which was brought by the Atwenwuns; and by the authority vested in the American deputies to accede to whatever terms the British Commissioners should impose. No other conditions were stipulated for than those already insisted upon; and a treaty was finally concluded upon the basis already described. The King of Ava renounced all claim to, and right of interference with the country of Asam, and the principalities of Jyntia and Kachar, and recognised the independence of Manipur. He consented to cede in perpetuity the four divisions of Arakan, or Arakan Proper, Ramri, Cheduba, and Sandoway, and the three districts of Tenaserim, Ye, Tavoy, and Mergui, or the whole of the coast, belonging to Ava, south of the Sanluen river; to receive a resident at his capital, and sanction the conclusion of a commercial treaty; and, finally, he agreed to pay a crore of rupees, or about a million sterling, in four instalments, the first immediately, the second within one hundred days from the date of the treaty, and the other two in the course of the two following

years. On their part, the British engaged to retire at once to Rangoon, and to quit the Burma territory, upon the payment of the second instalment. The treaty was concluded on the 24th of February. Its conditions were ultimately fulfilled, although the discharge of the promised indemnity was tardily and reluctantly completed.

As soon as the ratification of the treaty was received, the army broke up from Yandabo. A brigade, formed of His Majesty's 87th, and the Native Corps at head-quarters, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Hunter Blair, followed the route to Rangoon by land, while, as has been noticed, the 18th Madras Infantry, with the elephants, under the command of Captain David Ross, marched first to Pakang-yeh on the Irawadi, eight marches from Yandabo; and thence, after crossing the river to Sembewghwen, quitted the low country in three days; and, in eight more, crossed the mountains by a practicable route to Aeng in Arakan[1]. The remaining troops with the Commander-in-Chief and Civil Commissioner, embarked in boats provided by the Burma Government, and proceeded down the river to Rangoon, whence such of the troops, as were not required for the protection of the cautionary towns and conquered provinces, were despatched to their several presidencies. Sir Archibald Campbell, after visiting Calcutta, returned to Rangoon,

[1] Captain Trant observes: "We met with but little arduous difficulty, yet performed a march of one hundred and twenty-four miles, which had been supposed impracticable, in eleven days, and clearly pointed out, that, had this road been examined, it would have been found that there was nothing to have prevented a portion of General Morrison's army from wintering in Ava, instead of perishing in the marshes of Arakan."—Two Years in Ava, p. 447.

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of which he held possession agreeably to the terms of the treaty, until the payment of the second instalment at the end of the year. He then removed the troops to Moalmain, an inconsiderable village opposite to Martaban on the British side of the Sanluen river, but which offered a convenient military frontier station. At the same time, a sea-port was formed at the mouth of the river, about twenty-seven miles below Moalmain, to which the name of Amherst was assigned. The Tenaserim provinces were placed under the authority of a Commissioner appointed from Bengal. The subject of a commercial treaty, which had been generally indicated in that of Yandabo, was more especially determined at the end of the year, when Mr. Crawfurd, who had been previously appointed Civil Commissioner at Rangoon, was directed to proceed as envoy to Ava, to conclude the arrangement, as well as to clear up doubts which had arisen with respect to the eastern frontier. The former object of the mission was accomplished: but the question of the boundary[1], especially on the side of Manipur[2], was left undetermined, when

[1] Of this treaty, Mr. Bayfield observes, "the Court never considered it as a treaty, but as a royal license; and that it left to the King the right of prohibiting the free exportation of the precious metals, as well as levying royal and all customary duties on the British vessels and trade."—Hist. Sketches. The conditions were little regarded by the Governors of Rangoon, and their own interests continued to be, as heretofore, the measure of their exactions.

[2] The Raja of Manipur, Gambhir Sing, claimed the Kubo Valley, a fertile strip of land between the foot of the hills on the eastern confines of Manipur and the Ningti river, the right to which was denied by the Burmas. The question was diligently examined, and afforded an opportunity, of which advantage was taken, to depute at different times British officers to visit the localities between Manipur and Ava, by which valuable knowledge was obtained of the interjacent

Mr. Crawfurd left Ava, in the beginning of December, and returned to Bengal early in the following year. The stipulation of the treaty of Yandabo providing for the permanent residence of a representative of the British Government, at the capital of Ava, was little less unpalatable to the Sovereign than the demand upon his treasury; and it was not until the beginning of 1829, that the presence of a resident was felt to be essential for the adjustment of various subjects of discussion, and Major Burney was in consequence appointed. However acceptable to the Ministers, and to the King personally, and although discharging the duties of his appointment in a spirit of conciliation and impartiality, the Resident failed to reconcile the Court to an arrangement which they looked upon as a public and perpetual record of their humiliation.

The enormous expence, and the vast loss of life which the war with Ava had occasioned, and the uncertainty of reaping any adequate advantage from the acquisitions with which it had closed, excited in the authorities at home a strong feeling in opposition to the inevitability of the war, and in condemnation of the system on which it had been conducted. The occupation of Shahpuri, a mere sand-bank, it was argued, was wholly unworthy of

countries. In 1833, the Resident was authorised to apprise the King, that the supreme Government adhered to the opinion that the Ningti formed the proper boundary between Ava and Manipur; but that, in consideration for His Majesty's feelings and wishes, and in the spirit of amity and good-will subsisting between the two countries, it consented to the restoration of the Kubo Valley to Ava, and to the establishment of the boundary line at the foot of the Yumadong Hills.—Pemberton, p. 119.

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serious dispute; and its relinquishment involved no loss, either of revenue or reputation. The interposition exercised in the affairs of the petty states of Kachar and Manipur was treated as unseasonable and impolitic; and the facilities which the fugitives from Asam and Arakan were permitted to find in the Company's territories for maintaining a civil war in the countries from which they had been expelled, with the refusal of the British Government to apprehend and give up those disturbers of the public peace, afforded, it was affirmed, reasonable grounds of offence to the Court of Ava, and evinced a spirit which could not fail to irritate an ambitious and semi-barbarous power. A more conciliatory policy would, in all probability, have prevented the collision; and, if it had not succeeded, the only alternative necessary was, the maintenance of a sufficiently strong defensive attitude on the frontier, to have protected it from violation. War with Ava was particularly to have been avoided, not from any fear of its military power, or doubt of the result, but from the difficulty of reaching the enemy through the natural defences by which he was guarded, the absence of all resources in his country, the scantiness and misery of the population, and the insalubrity of the climate. No conquests that might be made could compensate for the evils that were unavoidable, as the greater part of the dominions of Ava were not only incapable of contributing to the public revenue, but of defraying the cost of the establishments requisite for their government. They could be alone retained by a further waste of money and

of men, and must be sources of weakness, not of strength, to the Indian empire.

The observations that have been suggested by the occurrence of hostilities with Nepal, apply with equal force to the war with Ava. A continued course of forbearance and conciliation, involving loss of credit to the State, and positive injury to its subjects, might possibly have delayed, but could not have prevented a rupture. Incapable of appreciating a generous and civilised policy, ignorant of the resources of the Government whose resentment they defied, reckless of international rights, inflated with an overweening confidence in their own prowess, and emboldened by a career of victory, the King and the Ministers of Ava were, as we have already explained, eager for a contest, the results of which they did not for a moment question would be the confirmation of their supremacy over the countries from which they had expelled the legitimate princes, and the re-annexation to the dominion of the Burmas, of those portions of Bengal which had become their right as constituting provinces of the conquered kingdom of Arakan. These notions were fostered by forbearance. The obvious and avowed anxiety of the Government of Bengal to preserve amicable relations uninterrupted was misinterpreted; and its reluctance was ascribed, not to moderation, but to fear. To have persisted in the same policy must have led to the same result, as it would have tended only to confirm the Burmas in their schemes of aggrandisement. Nothing but experience of the immense superiority of such an antagonist as they encountered, could have con-

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vinced them of the reality of that superiority. It may be doubted, if they are, even now, fully sensible of its truth: and it is certain that they have abated but little of their arrogance in their dealings with the British settlements.

The expedition to Rangoon was unpropitiously timed; but it was clearly directed against a quarter which, as far as was then known, was the most vulnerable of the territories of Ava. The plan of conveying a large army with all its stores, ammunition, baggage, and followers, five hundred miles, in open boats, against the current of a large and rapid river, was evidently ill-considered; and the consequent despatch of the armament, so as to avail itself of the Monsoon, was unfortunate; but the most disastrous results of the expedition were the effect of circumstances which could scarcely have been anticipated, the disappearance, voluntary or enforced, of the whole of the population. Hence the want of necessary supplies, and the fatal mortality that prevailed during the first months of the campaign. With the cessation of the rainy season, the advance of the army by land met with no serious impediments, and, although retarded by the insufficiency of the local resources, was victoriously prosecuted to within a few miles of the capital: establishing the superior advantages of the route by which the invaders had marched, over those which were attempted through Kachar and Arakan. The former of these originated in a strange want of information respecting the country to be traversed, and the utter impossibility of moving through it in masses embarrassed with the cumbrous equipments of

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European warfare. In that case also, as well as with respect to Arakan, a most exaggerated opinion seems to have been entertained of the strength of the Burmas; and large and heavily-armed bodies were consequently sent to perform what two or three regiments, lightly equipped, would have easily accomplished. Hence arose a main portion of the expenditure, as the supplies of the large army of Arakan had to be sent by sea, and to be conveyed across the mouths of wide creeks, after being brought at a great charge, and to but little purpose, from a considerable distance[1]; and hence originated that disastrous decimation of the troops, which was inflicted by the pestilential vapours of the climate. These were the radical errors of the military arrangements, and might have been prevented, had the plan, first laid down, of confining the operations on the frontier to simple demonstrations while the main effort on the side of Rangoon was urged with vigour, been adhered to. The Burmas were expelled from Asam by the Company's native troops alone. They were driven out of Kachar and Manipur by a handful of Manipuris under their Raja, and a British officer; and a force efficient, but not unwieldy, would, in all likelihood, have been equally successful in Arakan. The expedition to Rangoon, in fact, paralysed the efforts of the Court of Ava in other quarters; and the whole of their attention after their first ill-sustained success at Ramoo, was concentrated upon the imminent danger which threatened them at home.

[1] Several thousand head of cattle, sent at a great expense from the Upper Provinces of Hindustan to Chittagong, never crossed the Myoo.

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The territorial acquisitions which it was deemed advisable to exact from Ava were, at the time of their cession, of little value to either state. Long the prey of intestine discord and of foreign oppression, the population had been almost exterminated; and tracts, which were once the seats of busy industry, were overrun with impenetrable wilderness. They have not even yet recovered from the wide and wasting decay into which they had been plunged by internal anarchy and Burma misrule; but they have benefited by the continuance of tranquillity and good government, and abundance is spreading over their fields and their villages; and an augmenting population is industriously driving back the encroachments of the thicket. In Asam and in Kachar, agricultural cultivation has spread extensively; and new articles of culture, especially that of the Tea Plant, are likely to become important accessions to the resources of the former. The Tenaserim provinces present a valuable line of sea-coast, contributing to the British command of the Bay of Bengal, and offering a channel to commercial enterprise, as the means of communication with Siam and the Shan tribes, as far as the western confines of China: they are also rich in vegetable and mineral products[1]. Of

[1] Particularly Teak Timber and Tin. Moalmain, which, as noticed in the text, was an inconsiderable cluster of miserable huts in 1826, is now a large town containing, with the adjacent district, a population of 50,000, and carrying on an active trade. The average value of the Exports for the three years ending in 1839, was about £70,000, and of the Imports £140,000. The population of the Tenaserim provinces, although much increased, is still not much above 100,000, or little more than three to the square mile.—Reports on the Tenaserim Provinces by Dr. Helfer, Calcutta. Printed also in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1838—1840. Also Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. 2.

these conquests, however, Arakan has made the most decided advance. Favourably circumstanced, both as to climate and soil for the growth of rice, it has become the granary of the countries on either shore of the bay; and hundreds of vessels now annually sail from its harbours, which at the time of the conquest rarely sent even a fishing boat to sea[1]. In an economical point of view, therefore, these territories have already exceeded expectation, and are in a state of progress to still greater improvement; while they have a real political value in constituting a difficult and well defined frontier, presenting a ready access to Ava and Siam, and promising at some future period convenient intercourse by land with the opulent empire of China. The civilisation of the barbarous tribes which occupy the intervening space, may also be contemplated as a certain although distant result; and although some temporary embarrassment and distress may have been occasioned by the war with Ava, the interests of British India and of Oriental civilisation will be gainers by the contest.

[1] In 1839-40, nearly twelve hundred square-rigged vessels sailed from Akyab, besides country coasting vessels. The value of the rice exported, exceeded twelve lacs of rupees (£120,000); the rice was sent to the opposite coast of the Peninsula, to the Isle of France, to the Peninsula of Malacca, Siam, and China. The land in cultivation had been more than doubled; but it still did not exceed more than one twenty-fifth of the whole capable of being cultivated. The population had increased from about 100,000 in 1828 to 250,000 in 1839. The net revenue, at the latter date, was about £60,000, and was fully equal to the charges.

CHAPTER V.

State of Feeling in Hindustan in 1824.—Extensive Dissatisfaction.—Protected Sikh States.—Raja set up at Kunjawa,—Fort stormed.—Religious Impostor put down.—Outrages in Hariana.—Attack on Kalpee.—Mischievous Reports current in Malwa.—Predatory Incursions of Sheikh Dalla.—Rising of the Bhils in Baglana,—of the Coolies in Guzerat.—British Officers killed at Kittur,—Fort surrendered.—Capture of Omraiz.—Troublesome conduct of the Raja of Kolapur,—Force sent against him,—Treaty concluded,—violated and renewed,—Military Control maintained until his Death.—Disturbances in Cutch.—Incursions from Sindh.—Feelings of the People towards the British Government in the British Provinces.—Sentiments of the Native Princes.—Relaxation of Control.—Transactions with Alwar.—Claimants for the Raj.—Attempted Assassination of Ahmed Baksh Khan,—Investigation demanded,—refused by the Raja.—Transactions with Bhurtpore.—Recognised Right of Succession of the Infant Raja.—Death of the Father, Baldeo Sing.—Guardian of the Minor murdered.—Durjan Sal seizes the chief Power,—his Right disallowed by the Resident of Delhi,—professes to act as Regent,—Professions not credited.—Sir D. Ochterlony assembles a Force against Bhurtpore,—Measures disapproved of by the Government,—

Employment of Troops countermanded, — Resignation and Death of Sir D. Ochterlony, — his Popularity, — Prudence of the Decision of the Government, — Final Determination. — Large Force assembled under the Commander-in-Chief. — Siege of Bhurtpore. — Walls breached, — Mines sprung, — carried by Storm, — Durjan Sal taken, — Regency appointed. — Advance against Alwar, — Raja submits. — Visit of the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces. — Intercourse with the King of Oude. — Loans by the Court of Lucknow. — Death of the King. — Missions from Holkar, — and from Sindhia. — Death of Daulat Rao. — Regency of Baiza Bai. — Adoption of a Successor. — Visit to Delhi. — Residence at Simla. — Friendly Communications with Runjit Sing. — Insurrection of Afghans, — incited by Syed Ahmed, — his Death. — War between Persia and Russia, — Successes of the Russians. — Territory ceded and Indemnification paid by Persia. — Abrogation of British Subsidy. — Death of Abbas Mirza. — Return of the Governor-General to Calcutta. — Discussion of Judicial Arrangements. — Progress at the different Presidencies. — Death of Sir T. Munro. — State of Finances. — Domestic Affairs. — Succession of Bishops. — Advance of Education. — Expedition in search of Traces of La Perouse. — Close of Earl Amherst's Government and Departure for England.

THE condition of the territory subject to British dominion on the continent of India, about the period of the commencement of hostilities with BOOK III. CHAP. V. 1824.

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the Burmas, although in the main satisfactory, was not exempt from sources of uneasiness. The impression produced by the splendid triumphs of the Pindari war had already lost much of its freshness, and the inhabitants of the West and the South, no longer exposed to the ravages of predatory bands, no longer permitted to recruit their ranks, and share in the spoil, began to grow impatient of an authority which, while it protected them from the lawlessness of their neighbours, also restricted them from the perpetration of violence. In several of the newly acquired districts, the financial exactions of the Government were undesignedly oppressive. The lands had been assessed when the prices of grain had been raised to an unnatural height, by the presence of large bodies of military, as well as by the extensive discontinuance of cultivation, and no allowance had been made for the inability of the people to pay the same amount of revenue, when, in consequence of the disappearance of the military bazars, and the great extension of agriculture that followed the re-establishment of peace and security, the produce of the soil had increased in a much more rapid ratio than the population, and the demand had proportionately declined. Some time elapsed before these altered circumstances were fully appreciated; and in the mean while the people and their rulers were mutually dissatisfied. The state of things was not much better in the old provinces. The tranquillisation of Hindustan had thrown back upon the Company's territories a multitude of military adventurers, who were natives of British India, and

whose turbulence no longer found a safety-valve in the mercenary bands of Mahratta or Pathan. The defects in the administration of Civil Justice were still to be remedied. The police was still ineffective; and the settlement of the revenue for a period sufficiently protracted to ensure to the occupant the fruits of any improvement he might attempt, was still deferred. These causes produced a general sentiment of discontent; and in the course of 1824, there was scarcely a district, in the Upper Provinces in particular, in which a spirit of disaffection was not more or less manifested.[1] The feeling was fostered by the dissemination of vague and exaggerated rumours of the checks which had been suffered on the western frontier, and by a current belief that the resources of the state were wholly absorbed by the war; a belief confirmed by the march of the troops from the interior to the Presidencies, for service in Ava, and the consequent reduction of the military force on duty in Hindustan. The expression of the public sentiment was restricted, however, to partial and desultory manifestations, and to acts of petty and predatory violence, which the means at the command of the Government, and the activity of its officers, were fully able to suppress and punish.

In the protected Sikh provinces on the north-west, where in consequence of the drafts made upon the regular troops, the peace of the country had been entrusted almost to the unassisted guardianship of the native chiefs, a predatory leader, who

[1] Notes on Indian Affairs, by the Hon. F. J. Shore, i. 159.

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had for some time past baffled the pursuit of justice, emboldened by the weakness of the local troops, collected a formidable band of followers, and established himself in the mud fort of Kunjawa, not many miles from the station of Saharanpur, where he assumed the title of Raja, and levied contributions on the surrounding districts. He was joined by adventurers from all parts of the country, and was rapidly organising a formidable insurrection, when the fort was attacked by a detachment of the Gorkha Battalion, and a small body of horse, under Captain Young and the Civil Commissioner, Mr. Shore. The banditti were dislodged after a fierce combat, in which one hundred and fifty of their number were killed. At a somewhat earlier date, a religious mendicant at Badawar announced his advent on an appointed day as Kali, the last of the Hindu Avatars, for the purpose of overturning the reign of the foreigners. He was apprehended: but on the day appointed, a lawless multitude headed by a body of Akalis, collected to effect his rescue. They were encountered by a party of horse, in the service of the Patiala Raja, by whom they were discomfited and dispersed; and, as there was no further sign of the promised Avatar, the agitation subsided.

It was not to be expected, that the turbulent tribes of Hariana, and the borderers of Bhatner and Bhikaner, the Mewatis and Bhattis, would remain tranquil under the temptation offered by the reduction of the military force in their neighbourhood, and the reported decline of the power of the Government. It happened also, unfortunately,

that the autumnal harvest proved defective, and a scarcity of food contributed to impel the villagers to recur to their predatory practices. A band of plunderers from different villages in the district of Rotak, near Delhi, took the opportunity of a large Mela, or fair, at Beree, to carry off many hundred head of cattle, including a number purchased for the Government, proclaiming that its authority was at an end. A party of horse escorting public camels destined for the army, was attacked by the inhabitants of Bhawani, and other villages; and repulsed the assailants, only after suffering loss of life. Arms and ammunition were everywhere collected. The communication with Delhi was intercepted. A movement was threatened upon Hissar. Suraj Mal, an exiled marauder, returned from his exile, and at the head of four hundred matchlocks, and a party of horse, stormed and took the fort of Behut, defended only by a few Irregular Horse. Similar proceedings took place in the district of Rewari; and the spirit of turbulence was spreading to a dangerous extent, when measures were taken for its extinction. Two additional regiments of Irregular Horse were immediately raised for service in the Delhi districts; and the Gorkha Local Battalions were augmented. The increase of military strength, and the judicious arrangements of the chief Civil authorities, succeeded in restoring order.

In the province of Bundelkhand, heretofore an equally prolific source of turbulence, order was successfully preserved, with one wild but unimportant exception, in which an attempt was made

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by a refractory Jagirdar of the Jhaloun Raja, to carry off the public treasure from the fort of Kalpee, and plunder the town. The whole garrison consisted of but one weak company of Sipahis, commanded by Captain Ramsay, while the assailants were in considerable strength, both horse and foot. The insurgents were repulsed from the fort, although it was not possible to defend the town, which was plundered and partly set on fire: the arrival of reinforcements soon put the marauders to flight. Their leader, Nana Pundit, was shortly afterwards taken prisoner and confined for life.

In Malwa, similarly mischievous reports unsettled the minds of the people; and a rumour was extensively circulated, that the British were about to retire from Central India, in consequenee of the difficulties of the Burma war. No serious consequences, however, ensued. In Sondwana, an attempt was made to organise a rising; but it was frustrated by the timely movement of a military detachment. More troublesome transactions occurred on the Nerbudda, in the vicinity of Burhanpur, in consequence of the reappearance of Shaikh Dalla, a notorious Pindari, and long the terror of the Nizam's territory. Through the collusion of the Mahratta manager of Burhanpur on behalf of Sindhia, and in league with the Eastern Bhils, the free-booter succeeded in reviving a system of outrage and plunder; lurking in the jungle between Asirgerh and Elichpur, and suddenly sallying forth at the head of a strong party of horse and foot, and sweeping off the cattle and property of the villagers, and robbing and murdering travellers and

merchants. Associated with him, was an impostor, pretending to be Chimnaji Appa, the brother of the Ex-Peshwa, who, at the head of a body of armed men, attempted to penetrate into Berar. Troops were despatched against Shaikh Dalla in different directions; and the party of Chimnaji was surprised and dispersed by a division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force under Major Seyer. The main body of his marauding confederates who were encamped in the vicinity hastily retired; but their retreat brought them in contact with a party of the Mandaleswar Local Corps, under Lieut. Dermit, by which they were put to flight. The Pindari took to the thickets; but the little success which had attended his career and the activity displayed in his pursuit so disheartened his followers, that he was unable again to make head in any force.

Some disturbances were created earlier in the year, in the same quarter, by the return of the Bhils to their habits of plunder, especially in Baglana, where they were incited to insurrection by Godaji Danglia, a relative of the notorious Trimbuk, who endeavoured to give a political character to his proceedings, and pretended to act in the name and on the part of the Raja of Satara, calling upon the people to join his standard, as that of the Mahratta empire. Some success attended his first operations; and, besides plundering the country, he gained possession of the hill fort of Muralihar. The approach of a body of regular troops disconcerted the insurgents, and they abandoned the post, and took refuge in the hills where they could not be pursued. The pre-

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sence of additional forces from Hyderabad and the Dekhin, prevented the repetition of these outrages; and arrangements were devised for the conciliation and civilisation of the Bhil tribes, in place of those which had been hitherto proposed, and which had met with imperfect success. The experiment of forming a Local Corps, composed of the Bhils themselves, which had been previously tried and failed, was now repeated, and after some difficulty proved eminently beneficial. From the time when it became effective, order was maintained; and the Bhils of the Sathpur and Ajunta hills were gradually weaned from their predatory propensities.[1]

In Guzerat, towards the end of 1824, the Coolies, a rude and turbulent race scattered over the province, from the borders of Cutch to the Western Ghats, evinced more than their usual refractory spirit, and rendered military coercion necessary. The first attempt to put them down was unsuccessful; and a party of Bombay N. I. was repulsed, with the loss of an officer, Lieutenant Ellis, from the village of Dudana, near Kaira, which was enclosed by thick hedges of the milk plant, and defended by a mud fort; in storming which, the assailants were exposed to a destructive fire, which compelled them to fall back. The Coolies, however, evacuated the post, but still continued their depredations, burning the villages and plundering the people, even

[1] This success was mainly owing to the influence obtained over the Bhils, by the personal activity and intrepidity of Lieut. Outram, who ventured among them without attendance, and won their confidence and respect by his participation in their habits of living, and the dexterity and intrepidity which he displayed in the chase of the wild animals of the forest.—"Historical Sketch of the Bhil Tribes of Kandesh by Capt. Graham, Bhil Agent, Bombay, 1843."

in the immediate vicinity of Baroda. Parties of the Gaekwar Horse and the Subsidiary Force were sent against them, and generally dispersed them without much difficulty; but they retreated into the Run, and after a short interval, returned and renewed their ravages. Early in 1825, however, their main body was surprised by a wing of the 8th N. I. and a squadron of Dragoons, near Vitalpur, not far from Dudana. In their endeavour to escape into the adjoining thickets, they were intercepted by the Dragoons, and many were killed or taken, including several of their principal leaders. The check completed their discouragement, and they ceased for a time to harass and alarm the country. It was not, however, until a later period that the last bands of them were broken up by the capture of their principal leader, and a number of his followers, in the neighbourhood of Nasik, by a detachment of troops from Ahmednagar, under the command of Captain Mackintosh.[1]

At a period somewhat earlier than the first of these operations, and less connected than most of these petty outbreaks with popular agitation, the Southern Mahratta country presented an instance of resistance to authority, not unfrequent under the loose system of allegiance which the native chiefs acknowledged to the head of the state, but which was incompatible with the purposes of a well-organised administration. The Desai, or chief of Kittur, a small district near Darwar, held his chiefship under a grant from the British Govern-

[1] General Orders by the Governor of Bombay, 9th June, 1829.

ment, as a tributary fief, descending to his heirs in a direct line. He died in September, 1824, leaving no children; and the district reverted to the paramount power. The principal servants of the late Desai were naturally averse to the loss of influence and emolument which they were likely to suffer from the change, and they instigated the mother and the widow of the chief, the latter of whom was a mere child, to declare that, prior to his decease, he had enjoined the adoption of a son, who had been in consequence adopted, and who succeeded to his territory in right of the adoption. The fact of the injunction was disputed, and the validity of the adoption in any case denied, as the sanction of the Government had not been previously obtained, as the performance of the ceremony did not take place until after the Desai's demise, and as the relationship of the boy to the family of the chief was distant and doubtful. As the objects of the party by whom the claimant was set up were clearly the retention of power in their own hands during the minority of the adopted son, and the appropriation of the accumulated treasure of the late chief, to the prejudice of the right of his widow, Mr. Thackeray, the collector, refused to recognise the adoption without the sanction of the Government of Bombay; and, in the mean time, assumed charge of the effects of the Desai, and the management of Kittur. These measures were confirmed; and he was instructed to institute a careful inquiry into the circumstances of the adoption, and, in the mean time, to retain the control of the district. A ready access had at first been allowed to the

interior of the fort; seals had been placed upon the treasure, and a slight guard was stationed at the inner gate, to prevent the property from being clandestinely carried off. The collector, with two of his assistants, and a small escort, a Company of Native Horse Artillery, and one of Native Infantry, were encamped without the walls. On the morning of the 23rd of October, when the guard in the fort was to be relieved, the outer gates were shut, and all admission refused. On proceeding to force the gates open, the garrison rushed forth in such overpowering numbers, as to overwhelm the party. Mr. Thackeray, Captain Black, and Lieutenant Dighton, commanding the escort, were killed, Captain Sewell was wounded, and Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Elliott, assistants to the collector, were taken and carried into the fort, where they were threatened with death, if any assault should be made upon the place. The excitement occasioned by this transaction rapidly spread, and the people of the country between the Malparba and Kittur, manifested a disposition to join the insurgents. The Mahratta Chiefs preserved their loyalty, and tendered their contingents. These were not required; but to prevent the mutinous spirit from extending, troops were despatched without delay against Kittur from the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and a respectable force was speedily assembled before its walls[1], under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Deacon, and the directions of Mr. Chaplin, the Civil

[1] The 4th and 8th L. C., Brigade of Madras and Bombay Artillery, His Majesty's 46th Regiment, 1st Bombay European Regiment, the 3rd, 6th, 14th, and 23rd Regiments N. I.

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Commissioner. Immediate submission and the release of the prisoners was demanded, in which case pardon was offered to all except the principal instigators of the insurrection; and, as the rebels hesitated to accede to these terms, batteries were opened, and a practicable breach effected by the evening of the 4th of December. A flag of truce arrested the assault. The prisoners had been previously set at liberty. The leaders, twelve in number, surrendered, stipulating only that their lives should be spared: some of the most refractory escaped. As soon as Kittur was captured, the popular fermentation ceased, as the insurrection had been the work of an interested party, and involved no question affecting the rights or feelings of the people.

An affair of a somewhat similar character, although originating in a different cause, the contumacy of a refractory Patel, occurred in the same part of the country. The head-man of Omraiz refusing to pay his revenue, and, sheltering himself in a stronghold, from whence his followers committed depredations on the surrounding villages, it became necessary to employ a military force against him. A squadron of the 7th Cavalry, and three hundred men of the 44th N. I. with one six-pounder, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Collette, marched from Sholapore against Omraiz in February, 1825, and attempted to carry the place by blowing the gate open. The attempt failed. The outer and one of the inner gateways were forced, but the gun could not be brought to bear upon a third gateway, and the endeavours of the assailants

to enter, exposed them to a heavy enfilading fire from the walls of the fort. Lieutenant Phillipson, who led the party, and several of the 44th were killed, and the rest were recalled; operations were suspended; before they could be resumed with effect, the garrison evacuated the fort, and fled to the thickets, where they dispersed. The peace of the country was consequently restored[1].

The tranquillity of the western Dekhin was more perseveringly interrupted by the pretensions and unreasonableness of Kshetrapati Karavir, the Raja of Kolapur, a young and inconsiderate chief, who boasted a direct descent from Sivaji, and who, under the impulse of impetuous feelings and disorderly habits, committed acts of aggression, which called for the imposition of military restraint. Claiming a right of supremacy over the district of Kagal, which was held by Hindu Rao, the brother-in-law of Sindhia, under a grant, as he maintained from the Peshwa, and independent of Kolapur, the Raja assembled a considerable body of troops, and took forcible possession of the disputed territory. The Bombay Government was disinclined to interfere, although Sindhia urgently remonstrated against the inconsistency of a system, which, while it debarred him from upholding by force of arms, the just rights of a near relation, permitted a petty prince to violate them with impunity. Emboldened by forbearance, the Raja next attacked the lands of a Zemindar, partly dependent on Satara, partly on the Bombay Presidency; and, being in the field at

[1] An interesting account of the attack on Omraiz is to be found in the East India United Service Journal, March, 1836.

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the head of six thousand horse and foot, and a brigade of guns, levied contributions indiscriminately from the subjects of either state, plundered the villages, and murdered the people. Troops were then necessarily sent against him, upon whose approach he retired to Kolapur, whither he was followed by the detachment. Their proximity recalled him to a sense of his inability to resist, and he professed his submission to the will of the Company. He was accordingly compelled to restore the districts he had seized from both Hindu Rao and Satara, to pay a compensation for the damages inflicted by his depredations, and to engage to reduce his military establishment to a scale consistent with a state of peace. A treaty was concluded with him to this effect; but, after the first alarm had subsided, its stipulations were little regarded, and the Raja continued to keep on foot a large body of troops, whose excesses filled his neighbours with apprehension, and rendered it necessary to maintain a vigilant watch upon his proceedings. At length they once more became outrageous; and, in the beginning of 1827, a considerable body of troops[1] under Colonel Welsh was despatched from Belgam against Kolapur, with the sanction of the supreme Government[2]. The troops advanced again to Kolapur, and occupied the different forts in its vicinity. No resistance was offered; and the Raja,

[1] Consisting of the left wing of His Majesty's 41st, the Bombay European Regiment, 49th N. I., eight Companies of the Wallajabad, Light Infantry, 4th and 7th Light Cavalry, and Foot and Horse Artillery. They were joined by detachments, and a battering-train, from Poona.

[2] Colonel Welsh has given an account of the expedition, and of the country, in his Reminiscences, ii. 263.

having once more professed submission, a revised treaty was concluded, by which he was prohibited from entertaining a force exceeding four hundred horse and eight hundred foot. Districts formerly granted to him were resumed. Lands seized by him were ordered to be given back, compensation for damage done to different districts was demanded, and territory was sequestrated until the amount was paid. British garrisons were stationed in the forts of Kolapur and Panala; and the right of nominating the chief ministers was reserved[1]. No molestation of any serious description was afterwards experienced from the conduct of the Raja, although his occasional excesses rendered it expedient to keep up the military control until his death and the succession of his son, a minor, under a regency approved of by the Government of India.

To the north-west, disturbances broke out towards the end of 1824, in Cutch, which threatened to assume political importance, from the secret encouragement which the authors of them received from the Amirs of Sindh, who, like the rest of the native princes, catching eagerly at the rumours of disaster suffered by the British Government, were prepared to take advantage of the verification of those reports. Some of the Jhareja chiefs, disaffected to the Regency, and who had been banished for acts of insubordination and rapine, had sought refuge in Sindh, and finding that the British force in Cutch had been much reduced in numbers,

[1] Definitive treaty with the Raja of Kolapur 15th of March, 1829, ratified by the Bombay Government 18th of July.—Treaties with Native Powers, Calcutta, 1845.

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conceived the season propitious for the recovery of their forfeited lands, and the restoration of the deposed Raja, Bharmal Ji, to power. With the connivance of the Amirs, they assembled a body of about two thousand Mianis and Sindhis; and, in the beginning of 1825, crossed the borders, addressing a laconic epistle to the Resident, calling upon him to restore the Raja[1]. The troops in the province were unable to attempt more than the defence of the capital. Meeting with no opposition, the insurgents ravaged the country, and advanced to a strong post in the Hubbai Hills, within a few miles of Anjar, where a portion of them occupied the fort of Balari, and cut off the communication between Bhoj and the rest of the province. A native force, levied by the Regency, and sent to dislodge the rebels from Balari, was defeated, and several Jhareja Chiefs who commanded it were killed. A detachment from the British force at Bhoj was more successful, drove the insurgents out of the fort, rescued their prisoners, and recovered much of their plunder. The absence of this party encouraged the main body of the rebels to make an attack upon Anjar, which was garrisoned only by the troops of the Regency, reinforced by a party of Arab mercenaries. They repulsed the assailants, after a well-maintained struggle. The insurgents retreated to the Kaimal Hills, and, being driven from that position, disappeared in the Run. The countenance shewn to their incursion by the Amirs

[1] The letter was from Sarak Jas, Mima Joomoo, and others, to Captain Walter. "We are Grasias: if you will restore Rao Bharmal Ji to the throne, we are all your servants."

was not withdrawn upon their repulse, and large bodies of troops continued to be assembled on the frontier, menacing the province under British protection. It became necessary, therefore, so to strengthen the force in Cutch, that it should be capable of repelling any invasion from Sindh, and reinforcements were in consequence despatched from Kaira and Bombay[1]. The whole was placed under the orders of Colonel M. Napier. Their strength, and the improved state of affairs in the east, with the successful operations against Bhurtpore, checked the mischievous projects of the Amirs of Sindh; and, with the exception of their reluctance in uniting to put an end to the depredations of the marauding tribes of the desert, the intercourse with Sindh reverted to its former tone.

These different disturbances, however unimportant in their results, unconnected in their origin, and unmeaning in their objects, were not wholly unworthy of regard, as indications of the feelings entertained by considerable portions of the people in different parts of India towards their rulers. The necessity of an adequate military force to keep down the tendency of refractory chiefs and turbulent tribes to recur to habits of tumult and depredation, was clearly manifested by the disorders which ensued, wherever the regular troops were weakened or withdrawn, as they had been in various

[1] The force, when assembled, consisted of a troop of Horse Artillery, and a Company of Foot: His Majesty's 4th Dragoons, detachments of the 1st and 2nd Regiments N. C., His Majesty's 6th Foot, the flank Companies of the 2nd European Regiment, the Grenadier Regiment of N. I., and the 3rd, 8th, 10th, 18th, and 21st Regiments. —General Orders, Bombay, 20th September, 1825.

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places by the exigencies of the war. This disposition was, however, to be expected, and must continue to be experienced, until the people of India become accustomed to acknowledge the supremacy of law over the sword, and the chiefs and people resign the use of arms to the disciplined bands of the government. The eager credulity with which the inhabitants of the British provinces received every rumour of discomfiture and every tale of declining resources was a more alarming feature in the complexion of the times, and shewed how little sympathy united the subject and the sovereign, and the satisfaction with which the people were disposed to contemplate the downfall of their rulers.

The ferment which was excited throughout the British territories, by the indistinct reports of the early mischances of the war with Ava, were not confined within their limits, but extended to several of the native Courts, who had been brought under the protection, and at the same time under the supremacy of the Government, by the results of the Pindari war. Although the Princes were freed from the extortion and insolence of military rapacity, the relations established with the British were found to be scarcely less irksome, and the prohibition of international warfare, the shield thrown over their dependants against their tyranny or vindictiveness, and the pecuniary tributes imposed upon them, with the rigid punctuality with which payment was demanded, mortified their extravagant notions of their own dignity and importance, and subjected them to frequent and serious embarrassment. Notwithstanding they owed their

security to the control exercised by British interposition, they were most anxious to throw it off; and they were encouraged to expect their being consigned to their own passions and incapacity, if not from the course of events[1], yet from the wavering and uncertain policy which the orders from home impressed upon their Indian Governments, and which enjoined the discontinuance of interference with the internal arrangements of the native powers. The consequences of this vacillation were almost universally mischievous; but as they did not reach maturity until towards the close of the succeeding administration, they need not be dwelt upon at present. It will be here sufficient to particularise the transactions which took place with the states of Alwar and Bhurtpore.

Upon the death of Bakhtawar Sing, the last Raja of Macheri, or, as more usually entitled from this period, the Raja of Alwar, from the name of his capital, the claimants for the succession were an illegitimate son and a nephew, both under age. Each had his partisans; but as they were nearly balanced, a compromise was effected, which suspended an actual contest; although it was evidently an arrangement to which the parties, when old enough to decide for themselves, were little likely to conform. It was agreed that Beni Sing, the nephew, should be the nominal Raja; but that the administration should be exercised by Balwant Sing, the son, who had been entrusted to the guardianship of Ahmed

[1] The late Lord Metcalfe, when member of the Supreme Council of Calcutta, recorded his opinion that "the Burma War produced an extraordinary sensation all over India, amounting to an expectation of our immediate downfall."

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Baksh Khan, the Nawab of the neighbouring principality of Firozpore under the British supremacy. The Nawab was originally a soldier of fortune, in the service of the Raja of Macheri. He had been invested with his chiefship in consequence of his having joined the army of Lord Lake, but had maintained a friendly intercourse with his first patron; and on his death had been appointed the guardian of his son. When the boys became men, the results which might have been anticipated occurred. Intriguing individuals attached themselves to their respective interests; and tumults took place at their instigation, in which many lives were lost, and the principals themselves were endangered. In 1824, after a serious affray, the son consented to resign his authority, and retire upon an adequate Jagir; and the nephew became the effective Raja. Whether the act originated in personal feelings of vindictiveness, or in the machinations of the Raja's principal advisers and favourites, an attempt was made to assassinate Ahmed Baksh Khan. The assassin was seized, and accused a person named Mulha—a man of low caste but the minister and favourite of the Raja of Alwar—with some other influential individuals of the Court, of having employed him to murder the Nawab. The latter, precluded by the conditions of his connection with the British Government from redressing his own wrongs, appealed to it for protection; and the Raja of Alwar was consequently directed to apprehend the persons accused, and send them to Delhi for trial. At first, the Raja professed himself willing to obey, and affected to place the culprits

in confinement. They were soon, however, released even from the shew of durance in which they had been held; and Mulha, the principal, was taken into greater favour than before. The representations of the Resident were disregarded; and, finally, a judicial investigation by British functionaries was repudiated as being incompatible with the rights of the Raja, as an independent prince. To uphold this assertion of independence, an armed force was assembled. The fortress of Alwar was put in a state of defence, and active negociations were opened with Jypore and Bhurtpore, in both of which, dissatisfaction with British policy was busily fermenting. The discontents of Jypore did not come to a crisis for some years. The transactions at Bhurtpore very soon assumed a formidable aspect, and compelled the Government of India to prove to the native powers, that the war with Ava had neither humbled its spirit, nor impaired its strength.

The danger apprehended from the disorders in the neighbouring states had rendered the Rajas of Bhurtpore more unreservedly dependant upon the British Government; and the triumphs of the Marquis of Hastings had confirmed the disposition of the Jaut principality to look up to it for protection. The treaty concluded with the Raja Runjit Sing, was faithfully observed by his successors, Ranadhir Sing and Baldeo Sing: and the latter relied upon the Government of India to defend the interests of his son, Bulwant Sing, in the event of his death while the latter was in his minority: accordingly, at his earnest solicitation, the Political Agent

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at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, consented to invest the boy with a Khelat, or honorary dress, as a pledge of the recognition of his right of succession. The Raja's infirm health, and his apprehension of the ambitious designs of his nephew Durjan Sal, were the motives of his request. The investiture was performed at Bhurtpore, early in 1824, by one of the Political Agent's assistants; and a twelvemonth afterwards, Baldeo Sing died while on a pilgrimage to Goverdhan, not without suspicion of poison. The young Raja, about five or six years of age, succeeded under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Ram Ratan Sing, but the arrangement was soon disturbed; and in the month following the demise of Baldeo Sing, the son of a younger brother of the Raja, Durjan Sal, having seduced the soldiery to join his party, broke into the citadel and killed the guardian, possessed himself of the person of the young Raja, and assumed the direction of affairs. Sir David Ochterlony was not of a temper to suffer the guarantee of the British Government to be violated with impunity, and immediately addressed a proclamation to the Jauts, requiring them to withhold obedience from the usurper, and assuring them of the support of a British force, which he proceeded without delay to assemble at Mathura, on the confines of the Bhurtpore territory. These prompt measures intimidated Durjan Sal from at once setting aside, or murdering his cousin; and he professed it to be his purpose merely to retain the regency of the state until the young Raja should arrive at maturity, in compliance with the wishes of the whole of the tribe, who were dis-

satisfied with the tyrannical conduct of the late Regent. The tone of his correspondence was, however, unsatisfactory: his intentions were evasively indicated, and he declined an invitation to visit the British cantonments, and place the young Raja in the hands of the British Agent. Sir David Ochterlony determined, therefore, to waste no time in inconclusive negociation, but to compel Durjan Sal to relinquish his ill-gotten power, by marching against him before he should have had leisure to mature his designs, to collect adherents, and repair and strengthen the fortifications of Bhurtpore. A respectable force was speedily assembled for this purpose, and was about to move against the fortress, when the execution of the project was arrested by the caution of the Supreme Government.

Embarrassed at this period by the continued difficulties and heavy disbursements of the war with Ava, and aware of the unfriendly feeling with which its progress was watched by the native princes of India, the British Government was not unnaturally anxious to avoid a rupture, the consequences of which, in the case of any reverse, might endanger the stability of the British Indian empire. Influenced also by the spirit of the injunctions from home, which so decidedly deprecated interference with the internal affairs of the native principalities, the Governor-General was averse to take a part in the adjustment of the succession to Bhurtpore, and disallowed the existence of any obligation to uphold the claims of the minor Raja. The grant of the honorary dress, it was affirmed, was made without the previous sanction

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although their somewhat harsh and peremptory revocation of his measures, and the results to which his sense of undeserved censure indirectly contributed, brought upon them temporary obloquy, both in India and in England. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to admit the wisdom of their hesitation to countenance the hazard of precipitate hostilities. The force assembled by Sir David Ochterlony with the most commendable promptitude and activity, however formidable, was confessedly inadequate to overcome a prolonged and national resistance. His expectations of success, although confidently cherished, were based upon his being

Hon. the Governor-General has learned with great sorrow the demise of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, resident in Malwa and Rajputana. This melancholy event took place on the morning of the 15th inst. at Meerut, whither he had proceeded for the benefit of change of air. On the eminent military services of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, it would be superfluous to dilate; they have been acknowledged in terms of the highest praise by successive Governments; they justly earned a special and substantial reward from the Hon. East India Company; they have been recognised with expressions of admiration and applause by the British Parliament; and they have been honoured with signal marks of the approbation of his Sovereign.

"With the name of Sir D. Ochterlony are associated many of the proudest recollections of the Bengal Army; and to the renown of splendid achievements, he added, by the attainment of the highest honours of the Military Order of the Bath, the singular felicity of opening to his gallant companions, an access to those tokens of royal favour which are the dearest objects of a soldier's ambition. The diplomatic qualifications of Sir D. Ochterlony were not less conspicuous than his military talents. To an admirably vigorous intellect and consummate address, he united the essential requisites of an intimate knowledge of the native character, language, and manners. The confidence which the Government reposed in an individual gifted with such rare endowments, was evinced by the high and responsible situations which he successively filled, and the duties of which he discharged with eminent ability and advantage to the Public Interests. As an especial testimony of the high respect in which the character and services of Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony are held, and as a public demonstration of sorrow for his demise, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that minute guns to the number of sixty-eight, corresponding with his age, be fired this evening at sunset, from the ramparts of Fort-William."

able to anticipate the preparations of Durjan Sal, and to advance against Bhurtpore before the fortifications should be fully repaired, and a garrison sufficient to defend them should be collected. He also calculated upon a division of feeling among the Jauts, and the co-operation of a strong party inimical to the usurpation. These were not impossible contingencies; but they were not certainties. Armed men from all the neighbouring territories, including those of the Company, were daily gathering round the banners of Durjan Sal. The actual condition of the ramparts was not very authentically known; and whatever enmity to the usurper might be entertained by a portion of the Jaut tribe, their national spirit, their pride in their former repulse of a British army, and their confidence in the impregnability of Bhurtpore, were not unlikely to have combined all parties in sufficient strength to baffle an attack upon the fortress with means inferior to those by which it was eventually reduced. The season was also far advanced; and had the siege been long protracted, it might have become impossible to keep the army in the field. To have failed in the attempt, and been again repulsed from the walls of Bhurtpore, would have been attended in all probability with the most alarming results, and involved the British Government in war with every state from the Punjab to Ava[1]. It was therefore the imperative duty of the

[1] In a debate at the India House on the 19th of December, 1826, on the vote of thanks to the army at Bhurtpore, it was observed by Sir J. Malcolm, that if the siege had failed, it would in all human probability have added to the embarrassments of the Burmese War, that of hostilities with almost every State of India.—Asiatic Monthly Journal, Jan. 1827.

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Government to weigh deliberately the course to be pursued, and refrain from any hostile demonstrations against Bhurtpore, until every possible precaution had been taken to ensure success.

As long as the military preparations were in activity, the language of Durjan Sal was expressive of submission to the will of the British Government, and of his purpose to rest contented with the office of Regent. When they were suspended, he altered his tone, and assumed the title of Raja; asserting that his claims to the principality rested not only on the preference of the people, but the avowed intention of Ranadhir Sing, the eldest son and successor of Runjit Sing, to adopt him—an arrangement which gave him priority as the heir of the senior brother. While professing to leave the decision to the Supreme Government, he was busily engaged in preparing to oppose an unfavourable award, and collecting troops and improving the fortifications of Bhurtpore. The neighbouring Rajput and Mahratta states secretly encouraged his projects of resistance; and they evidently looked to the approaching contest as full of promise for their hopes of shaking off the Company's supremacy. Fortunately there was no leader of renown—no chief of ability qualified to take advantage of these aspirations, and guide and concentrate the energies of his countrymen. Durjan Sal was unequal to the crisis; he was timid and undecided, indolent and dissolute: he had no reputation as a soldier; and his adherents had little confidence in his conduct or courage. His younger brother, Madho Sing, who was more popular with

the soldiers, had separated from him, and established himself in the fort of Deeg, whence he opened negociations with the British functionaries, with the view of supplanting Durjan Sal in the Regency. The ferment, however, continued to increase; the usurping chief added daily to his strength, and it became obviously necessary to take vigorous measures for the vindication of the British supremacy.

The chief political authority at Delhi, vacant by the death of Sir David Ochterlony, had been conferred on Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been called from Hyderabad for that purpose. His presence at Calcutta suggested a reconsideration of the policy to be pursued with regard to the succession of Bhurtpore; and the opinions which he expressed were decidedly favourable to an effective support of the minor Raja, as, although the principle of non-interference had been long and uniformly enjoined by the authorities in England, those in India were continually compelled to deviate from it; for, as the paramount power, it was at once their duty and their wisest policy to put down anarchy and misrule; and, as the best preventive of those evils, to maintain legitimate succession: he therefore recommended that the minor Raja should be acknowledged, and Durjan Sal removed upon a suitable provision. These arrangements might be attempted in the first instance by negociation; but, in the event of their failure, they should be speedily followed by the employment of an adequate force to compel compliance. These recommendations were adopted by the Governor-General in Council. It was

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resolved to maintain the succession of the rightful heir by exhortation and remonstrance; and should those fail, by arms[1]. Sir C. Metcalfe repaired to Delhi, to carry the resolutions of the Government into effect; and as it was soon apparent that negociation was unavailing, the army, which had been assembled at Agra and Mathura for eventual operations against Bhurtpore, was put in motion under the direction of Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, whose head-quarters were at Mathura, on the 5th of December, 1825.

The forces which had been collected in the vicinity of the Bhurtpore frontier, consisted of two Regiments of European Cavalry, six of Native Cavalry and Skinner's Irregular Horse, and of three Regiments of European and sixteen of Native Infantry, with strong detachments of Horse and Foot Artillery and Pioneers, and a Battering Train of above a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance. The force, consisting of about twenty-one thousand men of all arms, marched in two divisions; one from Agra, commanded by Major-General Jasper Nicolls, C.B.; the other from Mathura, under the command of Major-General Thomas Reynell, C.B.[2] The force

[1] The discussions in the Supreme Government on the resolution finally adopted regarding the succession to Bhurtpore, are described in the Appendix to the Political Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, VI. No. 20, Letter from B. J. Jones, Esq , taken from the Secret and Political Consultations.

[2] The Agra Division comprised the first Brigade of Cavalry, consisting of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, and the 6th, 8th, and 9th Regiments of Native Cavalry, and three Brigades of Infantry; the third Brigade, composed of His Majesty's 59th Foot and the 11th and 31st N. I.; the second, of the 33rd, 36th, and 37th N. I.; and the 6th, consisting of the 15th, 21st, and 35th Regiments N. I., with three troops of Horse Artillery and the Experimental Brigade. The Mathura Division was formed of the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry, composed of His Majesty's 11th Light

of the garrison was estimated at twenty thousand men; chiefly Rajputs and Jauts, with some Afghans: but the greatest security of the fortress was in the height, the thickness, and toughness of its walls, constructed of clay hardened in the sun, upon which the play of the most formidable batteries produced comparatively little effect. In the former siege, a broad and deep ditch materially added to the strength of the fortress; but the besieged were deprived of this source of defence by the prompt and judicious operations of the British Commander-in-Chief.

The two divisions of the army moved on the 7th and 8th of December, and soon crossed the frontier. Before day-break on the 10th, the Mathura division marched, in a northerly direction, at some distance from the fort, and screened from it by an interjacent forest, towards the north-west, which was understood to be the direction of an extensive piece of water, the Moti Jhil, subservient in peaceable times to the irrigation of the lands; but capable of filling the ditches of the fortress in time of siege by sluices cut through the embankment within which the waters were confined. To prevent the enemy from opening channels through the bank, or to fill up any gaps that might have been made, a column was sent in advance,[1] which

Dragoons and the 3rd, 4th, and 10th Regiments of Native Cavalry, and of three Brigades of Infantry, the 1st, 4th and 5th, composed severally of His Majesty's 14th Foot and 23rd and 63rd N. I., of the 32nd, 41st and 58th N. I.. and of the 6th, 18th and 60th Regiments N. I., with Horse and Foot Artillery.

[1] Consisting of detachments of His Majesty's 14th, the 3rd, N. I., two squadrons of Dragoons, the 4th Light Cavalry, right wing of Skinner's Horse and a troop of Artillery, and two companies of Sappers and Miners.

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successfully accomplished the duty entrusted to it. A small party of the enemy was driven off; sluices, that had been recently opened, were effectually closed; and arrangements were made for retaining possession of the post, which were undisturbed throughout the siege. Except in a few places of little depth or extent, the ditch continued dry.

The fortress, or rather fortified town, of Bhurtpore is situated in a tract of country generally level, but diversified on the west by a range of barren rocks, and in other directions, by occasional eminences of inconsiderable elevation. The exterior defences, above five miles in circumference, consisted of lofty and thick walls of dried clay, rising from the edge of a broad and deep ditch, flanked by thirty-five tower-bastions, of a form and structure scarcely obnoxious to breaching or enfilade, and strengthened by the outworks of nine gateways. Behind the walls, and towering high above them at their northern extremity, rose the bastions of the citadel, attaining an elevation of above a hundred feet, and commanding the town, the outer ramparts, and the adjacent plain. The citadel was defended by a ditch fifty yards broad and fifty-nine feet in depth, and filled with water. Immediately contiguous to the outer ditch, an open esplanade of irregular breadth, but in some places about seven hundred yards across, answered the uses of a glacis. It was encompassed through four-fifths of its circuit by a shallow forest of trees and brushwood — a preserve for wild beasts and various kinds of game.

As the great extent of the fortifications of Bhurtpore precluded the possibility of a complete invest-

ment, and as it appeared likely that the most convenient point of attack would be found to be on the north-east face of the fort, the first division took up its ground with its right resting on the reservoir, extending along the northern side of the fortress, on the outer edge of the wood. The second division, as it came up, formed on the left of the first, and fronted the eastern face. A detachment was posted to the south, at the village of Mallye, which commanded a view of the works; and infantry and cavalry posts were gradually established on the southern and western faces, within easy communication and support; and the escape of the garrison and the admission of reinforcements, were thus equally prevented. Attempts were occasionally made to break through; but they were generally repulsed. The battering train arrived in camp on the 13th of December.

The repeated and careful reconnoissances of the engineers having satisfied the Commander-in-Chief, that the most eligible points of attack were, a ravelin on the north-eastern face on the east of one of the principal gateways, the Jangina gate, and a bastion on the east front connected with the ramparts by a narrow projection from which it received its designation of the long-necked bastion, it was determined that regular approaches should be made, in order to erect batteries against the parts selected. With this view, on the morning of the 23rd, two positions were taken up in advance of the main body, and on the edge of the jungle nearest to the fort; one by detachments from the first division, at a garden named after Baldeo Sing; the

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other, by detachments from the second division, at the village of Kadam Kandy, about three-quarters of a mile on the left of the garden. Ground was broken at these situations, under a heavy fire from the fort, and desultory attacks of the enemy's horse and foot. Guns were brought to bear upon the latter; and they were dispersed without much difficulty or injury to the working parties. Batteries were constructed at both positions, and opened on the 24th at day-break. Their fire was briskly replied to by the fort, but by the evening several of the enemy's guns were withdrawn from the outer works, being overmatched by the fire from the batteries. During the following days, the advance of the trenches was diligently pursued, and other and more advanced batteries were constructed; while those first formed, were brought nearer to the ditch. The whole mounted thirty-six mortars and forty-eight pieces of heavy ordnance, and for several days kept up a heavy fire of shot and shells, which produced evident dilapidation of the bastions, and caused great destruction and terror in the town. Parties of matchlock men attempted to interrupt the progress of the works, but they were easily driven into the fort, and no vigorous sortie was undertaken. The fire from the ramparts became however better directed, and a shot reached the residence of the Commander-in-Chief, aimed, it was conjectured, by an artilleryman who had deserted to the enemy. The trenches were, nevertheless, brought close to the counterscarp of the ditch; and on the 31st the arrangements for mining were commenced.

Although the fire of the breaching batteries produced sensible damage on the ramparts, yet the nature of the materials of which they were composed, as well as their conical outline, prevented their being rent asunder into open chasms or levelled into piles of ruins over which it were easy to clamber; and they merely crumbled into rugged masses, which followed the direction of the acclivity, and rendered it scarcely less steep and inaccessible than it was originally. This result had not been unforeseen; and the attention of the Commander-in-Chief had, from an early period, been directed to the construction of mines, as the most prompt and certain means of ruining defences of the nature of those of Bhurtpore.[1] Although, therefore, the co-operation of powerful batteries was essential in contributing to the demolition of the works, yet

[1] A question has been raised with regard to the claim of two distinguished officers of the Bengal Army to the merit of having recommended to the Commander-in-Chief the employment of mines in the siege of Bhurtpore. The measure was suggested to Lord Combermere by Major (now Major-General) Galloway, in a memoir addressed to his Lordship when encamped before Bhurtpore, in which he advocated, as far as he was aware for the first time, the plan of breaching by mines, and not by artillery, founding his opinion not only on general principles, but his personal experience, General Galloway having served with distinction at the first siege of Bhurtpore, where he commanded the pioneers, and being known also as the author of a valuable work on the Mud Forts of India. It appears, however, that prior to the receipt of General Galloway's memoir, prior even to the commencement of the siege, recourse to mining had been strongly recommended by Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Forbes of the Engineers, who was on duty at the siege, and who had been trained in England in the theory and practice of mining. The particular plans which he suggested were approved of by the Chief Engineer and the Commander-in-Chief, and were generally followed in the operations that ensued. There is no doubt, however, that both the communications were independently made, as probably were others of a similar purport; and both these officers therefore were entitled to the credit of having originated recommendations, to the adoption of which the successful operations against Bhurtpore were mainly to be ascribed.

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their more especial object had been to cover the approaches and keep down the fire of the enemy. As soon as these purposes were accomplished, and the approaches had been successfully advanced to the edge of the ditch, active operations were undertaken for carrying mines across it into the opposite scarp underneath the ramparts at the north-east angle and the long-necked bastion. Upon effecting lodgments on the edge of the ditch, it was found to be a broken ravine, in some places above thirty feet deep, but not difficult to cross. By the 2nd of January, the breaching batteries mounted twenty-five guns and sixty mortars, and a small battery had been established on the west face, chiefly to divide the attention of the enemy.

By the 8th of January, mines had been carried across and under the ditch; and, on the north-east, had penetrated beneath the ramparts. On that day, a mine under the cavalier and curtain of the north-eastern angle was sprung, and although not productive of the expected effect to its whole extent, occasioned considerable dilapidation. Three other mines were successfully sprung on the 8th in the counterscarp of the ditch, in the same direction. At the same time it was determined to drive a large mine deep into the rampart at the north-east angle, and construct others subsidiary to its anticipated operations. On the left, similar works were carried on with emulative courage and activity; and, on the 11th and 12th, the ditch was crossed, and mines were commenced beneath the ramparts. During these proceedings, attempts were made by the enemy to countermine; but in general, without

success: parties also descended into the ditch, and endeavoured to interrupt the works, but they were driven out by the supporting parties, among which the Gorkhas of the Sirmor Battalion, a detachment of whom had joined the army, and were employed as skirmishers and marksmen, were conspicuously distinguished. The batteries continued to play on the ruined parapets; and, although the enemy partially repaired the breaches, they presented every appearance of being practicable, and the whole army impatiently awaited the order to storm. It was not much longer delayed.

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On the 16th of January, the mine under the long-necked bastion was sprung with complete success. The facility of approach was tested by the ascent of an officer, and a small party of the 59th. Immediately after the explosion they reached the top of the bastion, and returned without suffering any molestation from the enemy. The 18th was appointed for the assault: the signal for which was the explosion of the great mine under the north-east cavalier. Two subsidiary mines having been fired, the principal one containing ten thousand pounds of powder, was ignited. In a short time the earth shook, a dull muttering sound was heard, the sky was clouded with huge volumes of smoke and dust, and enormous masses of the hardened ramparts were sent flying into the air. A number of the enemy who had assembled to defend the breach were destroyed, and several of the foremost of the storming party, who, in their anxiety to advance upon the instant of the springing of the mine, had crowded too nearly to the opening, were struck

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down and killed or disabled[1]. The accident caused a momentary hesitation; but the word was given to advance, and the column scaled the ramparts.

The column destined for the main attack on the right was under the command of Major-General Reynell, and consisted of His Majesty's 14th, five Companies of the 41st N. I., and the 6th, 23rd, and 30th Regiments, N. I. The main column of the left attack commanded by Major-General Nicolls was formed of His Majesty's 59th, and the 15th, 21st, and 31st Native Regiments. These were to assault the principal breaches on the north and east. On the right of the first column, a division composed of two Companies of the European Regiment, the 58th N. I., and a hundred Gorkhas, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Delamaine, was directed to storm the Jangina Gate. An intermediate column, formed of two other Companies of the European Regiment, the Grenadier Company of the 35th N. I., and the Light Company of the 37th N. I., with a hundred Gorkhas, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel T. Wilson, was to attempt the escalade of the north flank angle of the long-necked bastion; and a reserve column attached to the left main division, consisting of the remaining

[1] Twelve men of the 14th were killed or wounded. Brigadiers M'Combe and Paton, Captain Irvine of the Engineers, and Lieut. Daly of His Majesty's 14th, received severe contusions; the latter had his leg amputated. It has been usually said, that the injury was occasioned by the explosion of the mine in an unexpected direction; but this does not appear to have been the case, and is denied by the Engineers. Lieut. Forbes had sketched the precise outline the breach would take, and Captain Irvine had pointed out the danger, and proceeded to the trenches to recommend the men being drawn back, but they were so crowded, that it was impossible; and their exposure beyond the trenches to the fire of the garrison would have been attended with still severer loss of life.

Companies of the 36th and 37th Regiments N. I., under Brigadier-General Adams, was appointed to menace the Agra Gate. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery were posted along the south and west faces of the fortress, to intercept such of the enemy as might endeavour to escape in that direction.

As soon as the right column heard the order to advance, they rushed up the breach, and speedily gained its summit. They were resolutely charged by the defenders; but the bayonet did its work and quickly cleared the bastion. The column then divided, part following the ramparts to the right, part to the left, driving the garrison before them from every post where they attempted to make a stand with immense slaughter. The right division was joined at the Jangina Gate, by Colonel Delamaine's detachment, which had successfully stormed; but the whole party presently suffered some loss from the explosion of a mine under the gateway. Captain Armstrong of the 14th also was shot. They nevertheless pushed forward along the ramparts, or descended into the town, and destroyed a number of the defenders, until they reached a bastion near the Kumbhir Gate on the western wall. Here they were met by the 59th, part of the left column. The left division of the right attacking column cleared the ramparts between the two breaches, and destroyed a number of the enemy in the town, and at a bridge over the ditch of the citadel. The breach on the left was ascended without much opposition; but when the column reached the summit, a fierce conflict ensued. General Edwards, commanding a subdivision of the column, and Captain Pitman

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of the 59th, and many of the men, fell under a heavy fire of matchlocks from an adjacent cavalier, which flanked their advance, until the enemy were driven from it by the left division of the right column. They also suffered from guns pointed down the neck of the rampart: but upon these they resolutely rushed and carried them; and then turning to the left, swept the ramparts round the south until they joined the party of the right column at the Kumbhir Gate, encountering and overcoming a resolute resistance at different points of their route. On their way they detached parties into the town, and opened the Agra Gate for the advance of General Adams's reserve: and were accompanied by the supporting division of Colonel Wilson, which, having clambered up the ruined ramparts at the re-entering angle, formed by the projecting gorge of the long-necked bastion, under a flanking fire from the bastion on the right, descended into the body of the place, and moving along the town parallel with the ramparts, encountered and destroyed several strong parties of the garrison. After passing the Mathura Gate, the division carried several bastions still occupied by the enemy, and assisted in the complete clearance of the ramparts. The guns of the citadel had inflicted some injury on the assailants during the storm, but ceased firing when the outer works and the town were occupied; and in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The enemy generally fought with resolution, and their artillerymen mostly fell by their guns. About eight thousand were slain. The total amount of killed and

wounded was estimated at fourteen thousand men. The loss of the victors in the assault did not exceed six hundred[1]. As soon as the conflict commenced, strong bodies of Horse and Foot attempted to fly from the devoted fortress through the gates on the western face; but they were intercepted by the cavalry, and many of them were killed or taken prisoners. Amongst the latter were Durjan Sal himself with his wife and two sons. Soon after the assault had taken place, he quitted Bhurtpore by the Kumbhir gate, with about forty horsemen; and after dispersing a small picquet of cavalry opposed to him, effected his retreat into the adjoining wood, where he remained for several hours. Issuing from the thicket, between three and four o'clock, he had succeeded in passing to the rear of the 8th Native Cavalry, when his party was observed and immediately pursued by the third troop under Lieut. Barbor. The fugitives were soon overtaken and secured without offering resistance. Durjan Sal was sent as a prisoner of state to Allahabad. On the day after the storm, Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe entered the citadel, and on the 20th placed the young Raja on the throne of his ancestors. The care of his person was confided to the principal widow of the late Raja, as nominal regent. The management of affairs was entrusted to Jawahir Sal, and Chintaman Foujdar, who had enjoyed the con-

[1] Europeans and Natives killed, one hundred and three, wounded four hundred and sixty-six, missing eleven. The officers killed were, Brigadier-General Edwards, Captain Armstrong of His Majesty's 14th, Captain Pitman of His Majesty's 59th, and Captain Brown of the 31st Regiment N. I.

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fidence of his father,[1] subject to the control of a British resident, to be permanently appointed to Bhurtpore; and who, until the chief should attain to maturity, was to exercise a general superintendence over the person of the minor Raja, and the administration of the principality.

The services of the army before Bhurtpore were duly acknowledged, both by the East India Company and by the Parliament; and in the latter, the opportunity was taken of paying a like tribute to the services of the army and navy in the Burma war. The merit of the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief had been previously rewarded by the Crown, and the dignities of Viscount and Earl conferred upon Lord Amherst, and that of Viscount upon Lord Combermere. The thanks of the Court of Proprietors had also been awarded to Lord Amherst for his exertions in conducting to a successful issue the war with Ava, and to the military and naval forces engaged in it, and to the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and the army of Bhurtpore.[2]

[1] These two chiefs were, however, held in detestation by the people, who accused them most undeservedly of having treacherously facilitated the capture of Bhurtpore. So strong was this feeling, even in the British Camp, that upon their visiting the Commander-in-Chief, a native mob assembled round their litter, abused them and maltreated their attendants, and would probably have murdered them, but for the timely interposition of a British escort.

[2] Besides the official despatches, we have for the siege of Bhurtpore the authentic account of Captain Creighton of the 11th Dragoons; "Narrative of the Siege and Capture of Bhurtpore;" and a variety of interesting and valuable materials in letters from different officers who served at the siege, published in the East Indian United Service Journal, 1834. 1835, and in extracts from the Journals of General Nicolls and Lieut. Forbes of the Engineers, published with other communications in a Calcutta Newspaper, the Englishman, 1847, forming part of a series of Papers on the Operations of the Bengal Army in India, to which it were very desirable to have access in a more commodious form.

After dismantling the fortifications of Bhurtpore and completing the measures necessary for its protection, the army marched against Alwar. Madho Sing the brother of Durjan Sal, immediately tendered his submission, and gave up the fortress of Deeg. A liberal pension was assigned to him, on condition of his residing within the Company's territory. The fall of Bhurtpore, and the approach of the formidable force by which it had been achieved, intimidated the Raja of Alwar into prompt acquiescence with the demands of the British Government. The persons who had instigated the attempt on the life of Ahmed Baksh Khan were delivered up and transmitted for trial to Delhi. Bulwant Sing who had been imprisoned by the Raja was set at liberty, and one half of the the lands which had been originally conferred upon the Rao Raja by the British Government in the time of Sir G. Barlow's administration, was resumed and settled upon him, with a pecuniary grant of equal value. A division of the army was stationed for some time on the frontier under General Nicolls, to ensure the observance of the engagements thus entered into, and the continuance of tranquillity.

Although no doubt of the guilt of the individuals implicated in the attempt on the life of Ahmed Baksh was entertained, yet as the evidence was judicially insufficient, they were acquitted. Intimation was at the same time conveyed to the Raja of Alwar, that it was expected he would refrain from replacing them in offices of trust; and as he paid no attention to the intimation, he

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was excluded from the presence of the Governor-General upon his visit towards the end of the year to Hindustan, and the privilege of direct correspondence with the head of the Government was also withheld from him. These marks of displeasure were sensibly felt, and Malha and his associates were dismissed from his councils and banished to the district of Delhi, on which he was restored to to the indulgence of direct intercourse with the Governor-General. The reconciliation was facilitated by the death of Ahmed Baksh Khan in 1827.

The fall of Bhurtpore was the surest guarantee that could be devised for the restoration of subordination, and the maintenance of quiet in the surrounding countries. A British army, flushed with victory and commanded by a general whose renown had spread to the remotest parts of India, had formerly been repulsed from its walls, after repeated assaults, in which skill and valour had done their utmost; and the tradition of the defeat had impressed upon the natives, whether prince or people, the conviction that Bhurtpore was the bulwark of the liberties of India, and destined to arrest the march of European triumph. The disappointment of these expectations, at a moment when it had been widely rumoured that the strength of the British Government was exhausted in a distant and disastrous warfare, diffused a sense of awe and apprehension amongst the native states, and tranquillised, at least for a season, the ferment which had for some time past disquieted Hindustan. It was now felt that resistance was hopeless, and that

any opposition to the British power must end in the destruction of its adversary.

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The termination of the war with Ava, and the capture of Bhurtpore, relieving the Government from any immediate political duties, the Governor-General availed himself of the opportunity to visit the Upper Provinces, and reanimate by personal intercourse the amicable relations which subsisted with the native princes. Lord Amherst left Calcutta in the beginning of August, and arrived at Cawnpore on the 16th of November, where all the petty chiefs of Bundelkhand waited upon him; and he was visited by the King of Oude. In return, the Governor-General repaired to Lucknow; and an opportunity was afforded him of a confidential communication with the king with respect to the management of his country. However well disposed towards his allies, and receiving the Goveror-General with the most cordial hospitality, Ghazi ud din Hyder continued to deny the necessity of any interposition in his affairs; appealing to the flourishing appearance of his country in proof of the success of his administration. In truth, with occasional exceptions, the lands were covered with cultivation, and the people appeared to be contented. The assessment was light; and the revenues were levied without difficulty, although the system of farming them was adhered to, and tended to perpetuate extortion. The unfavourable accounts of the condition of Oude had been much exaggerated,[1] and had principally origi-

[1] Evidence to the contrary is not wanting. In 1824, a body of irregular horse, marching from Shahabad to Pertabgerh in Oude,

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nated in the turbulent spirit which prevailed upon the confines of the kingdom bordering on the British districts, where a race of refractory landholders, Rajputs by tribe and soldiers by profession, considered it a disgrace to comply peaceably with the demands of the state, and paid their revenue only to military collectors. The belief that the evil was, in a great measure, of limited extent, and the strong objections of the king, had latterly induced the government to refrain from urging suggestions of reform; and their forbearance had been requited by the opportune assistance of the hoarded treasures of Sadat Ali. At the end of 1825, a perpetual loan of a crore of rupees, a million sterling, was made to the Company by the King of Oude, of which the interest, at five per cent., was to be paid to members of his family, and in particular to his favourite minister Aga Mir, whom he thus hoped to secure against the animosity of the heir apparent, with whom the minister and king had both been long at variance, although they had latterly, in appearance at least, been reconciled. In the following year, a second loan, of half a million, was lent for a period of two years. The interview with the Governor-General closed the intercourse with the King of Oude. He died in October, 1827. Ghazi ud din Hyder, although indolent and addicted to habits of intemperance, was not devoid of sagacity or judgment: he perfectly well understood the nature of

could find no spot on which to encamp without injury to the crops; and in the following year, we have the concurrent reports of different officers and travellers, that the villages were populous: no complaints of over-assessment were heard; and the face of the country was a perfect garden, equal to the best cultivated districts in the Company's territories.

his connexion with the British Government; and in his correspondence with the Governor-General, had not unfrequently the advantage. He was an encourager of letters[1] and the arts; was of a kind and conciliating disposition, and cultivated a friendly familiarity with the successive residents at his court. He was too much under the influence of self-interested advisers, his ministers, and his begums; but his reign was unstained by violence or cruelty; and he afforded a not unfavourable specimen of an Asiatic prince. He was succeeded by his eldest son Soliman Jah, who took the title of Nasir ud-din Hyder.

After passing some days at Lucknow, the Governor-General proceeded to Agra, where he arrived early in January, 1827 — and was there met by all the Chiefs of Malwa, and missions from the Mahratta princes, Holkar and Sindhia. The former was still a minor; and the conduct of the state was vested in the ministers, under the control of the Resident, Mr. Wellesley, who, for many years, exercised with remarkable judgment and efficiency almost unbounded authority over the territory subject to Indore, and through his assistants, over the adjacent countries, whether subject to petty independent princes, or constituting districts belonging to Holkar and Sindhia, which had been placed under the management of British officers. For some time he was steadily seconded by the

[1] A large work, the Heft Kulzum, a dictionary of Arabic with a Persian interpretation, in six folio volumes, was compiled and printed at his expense; and copies were presented to the chief public libraries in India and Europe. European artists of different professions were liberally maintained in his service.

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principal minister, Tantia Jôg, one of the actors in the turbulent scenes that had preceded hostilities in 1819, and who therefore well knew the value of the protection given to the immature years of his sovereign, by the presence of a British Resident. He died in the beginning of May, 1826; but his death made no change in the relations which connected Mulhar Rao Holkar with his allies. The mission from Sindhia was headed by Hindu Rao, the brother of his favourite wife, Baiza Baï. The Raja himself had been long suffering from illness, and his early dissolution was expected. The representations of his ministers, supported by the Resident, urging him to adopt a son and successor, as he had no son of his own, were of no avail in overcoming his reluctance to a measure which was considered essential to perpetuate the existence of the Gwalior state. He declared, that he had no relations in whom he was interested, or among whom he could select an eligible object of adoption; and he was satisfied to leave the future to the determination of the British Government, who might make whatever disposition they thought best. The real cause of his reluctance, however, was his attachment to Baiza Baï, who had long exercised an imperious influence over his mind, and to whom he wished to bequeath the substantial authority of the state, although the opposition of the principal persons of his court, and probably some misgivings of the result, deterred him from declaring her his successor[1]. Dowlat

[1] Sindhia, in a conference with the Resident, intimated another although not altogether dissimilar motive. If a son were adopted by

Rao Sindhia died in March, 1827. He had reigned thirty-three years, during the first ten of which he was virtual sovereign of the greater part of Hindustan, holding in subjection Delhi and its titular monarch, the upper part of the Doab, and the larger portion of Bundelkhand and Malwa, levying tribute from the princes of Rajputana, dictating terms to his nominal superior, the Peshwa, and having at his command a formidable force, not only of the national arm, light cavalry, and a host of irregular foot, but of forty disciplined battalions, and an imposing train of one hundred and forty pieces of artillery directed by European officers. His fatal quarrel with the British Government annihilated his army, and transferred to his enemies all his territories in Hindustan. The Pindari war may have suggested to him the possibility of recovering some of his lost domains; and the hope, concurring with his supposed duty to the head of the Mahrattas, seduced him into a temporary deviation from the cautious line of policy which he had till then pursued, and exposed him to a further diminution of his power. The penalty, however, was not inflicted, and, satisfied with his escape, Dowlat Rao devoted himself thenceforward to indolence and amusement, and indulged no longer in dreams of political importance. He seems also to have discarded all feeling of resentment against those to whom he owed his humiliation, and to have confided implicitly in the good

him, the custom of the Mahrattas required that the adoptive mother should be the senior of the Baïs—who was not Baiza but Rukma Baï; and the latter was notoriously unfit for the office of Regent, which would have devolved on her as the mother of the minor Raja. Sutherland's Sketches, 155.

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will of the British Government, whose representatives were admitted to his familiarity, almost to his friendship[1].

Shortly after the demise of Sindhia, a paper was produced, purporting to contain the expression of his last wishes, agreeably to which an heir was to be adopted, but an indefinite regency was to be entrusted to Baiza Baï, for whom the protection of the Company was solicited. The document proved to be supposititious, but it was admitted to be evidence of the Raja's intentions; and the adoption of a son, and the regency of the Baï, were authorised under a general assurance of protection. Five boys remotely related to Sindhia, were brought to Gwalior from the Dekhin, of whom, Mukt Rao, a lad of eleven years of age, the son of an obscure individual, descended from the common ancestor of the family, was selected, with the approbation of the Resident. He was forthwith affianced to the grand-daughter of Sindhia by Baiza Baï, and was placed upon the cushion of sovereignty, on the 18th of June, 1827. At Sindhia's death, the pension paid to him by the British Government, of four lakhs of rupees a year, ceased; and, as this had furnished the principal fund for the regular pay of the contingent commanded by British officers, and constituting the only force in the service of Gwalior upon which dependence could be placed, it was necessary to provide other means of meeting the expence. After some negotiation, the Regent Baï,

[1] The report of the Resident, Major Stewart, represents, in so interesting a manner, the circumstance of Sindhia's decease, and with so just an appreciation of his character, that it is highly worthy of perusal. It is given in the Appendix, iii.

with an ulterior view to her own interests, consented to advance to the Company, a loan or deposit of eighty lakhs of rupees, the interest of which at five per cent. was to be applied to the payment of the contingent force. The arrangements thus accomplished, involved the seeds of future dissension; but the minority of the adopted successor, obviated their immediate development.

From Agra, the Governor General, after a visit to the young Raja of Bhurtpore, continued his journey to Delhi, where the envoys of the different Rajput states attended his durbar. With the chief of these, especially Jaypur, complicated questions of policy had for some time subsisted, arising out of the fluctuating and uncertain manner in which British interposition was exercised, the wish and at the same time the difficulty of withdrawing from it. The solution of the problem continued equally to occupy the consideration of the succeeding administration; and as the most important events which sprang from it, belong to a later date, an account of them may be reserved for a future occasion. The interviews which took place with the fallen majesty of Delhi, were, upon this occasion, regulated with the most minute precision; and the dignity of the Governor General was scrupulously asserted. The King, by the concessions to which he yielded, indulged the hope of procuring an addition to his pecuniary resources, on the ground of the improved revenues of the assigned territories. He was disappointed in his expectations. The assignment of any specified territory was denied; and the limitation in the original paper, which was declared to be

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a paper of intentions and not any engagement, by which it was proposed, that if the revenues admitted, the Royal stipend should be augmented to a lakh of rupees a month, fixed the amount of any future augmentation: but, whatever conditions might have been thought to exist at an earlier period, they were superseded by the arrangements concluded in 1809, when a fixed money grant was assigned without any reference to territorial revenue. His majesty was by no means satisfied with this decision, and appealed from it to the authorities in England, not wholly without success; as, although the existence of the engagement was disallowed, an accession to his stipend was authorised, by which it was to be raised to the sum of fifteen lakhs a year: the circumstances which induced his majesty to decline acceptance of the increase belong to a later period.

After leaving Delhi, Lord Amherst repaired to Simla on the lower range of the Himalaya, now for the first time the temporary residence of the Governor-General of British India. During his residence, friendly missions were interchanged with Ranjit Sing, whose career of conquest was for a time checked by the insurrection of his Afghan subjects on the west of the Indus, at the call of Syed Ahmed, a fanatical Mohammedan. This man, originally a trooper in the service of Amir Khan, departed for Delhi, when the predatory force of that chief was disbanded, and there set up for a reformer of the faith of Islam, professing to restore it to its original purity, and to divest it of all idolatrous and superstitious innova-

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tions. Wholly illiterate himself, he found men of learning to advocate his doctrines; and he speedily obtained proselytes and followers. After a visit to Calcutta, and a pilgrimage to Mecca, which added to his reputed sanctity, Syed Ahmed returned by way of the former city, to the Upper Provinces, and, after some interval, appeared in the Punjab, where, in December 1826, he proclaimed a holy war against the infidel Sikhs. That his cause should have found numerous adherents among the Afghans, who had been compelled to an enforced subjection to Sikh dominion was to have been expected; but the enterprise excited a strong interest among the Mohammedans throughout India, and from every principal town where they formed a portion of the population—from Delhi, Lucknow, Surat, Hyderabad, and even from Madras and Calcutta, contributions of money and jewels were despatched to him; and the younger and more adventurous marched to enlist under his banners. His forces were thus raised to between thirty thousand and forty thousand men; but their undisciplined and ill-organised fanaticism was unequal to resist the more steady valour of the Sikh battalions, and they were defeated with great loss at Naushera, near the Indus, by the army of Ranjit, under Budh Sing. The insurgents were for a time dispersed; but they again collected, and, for several years, maintained a partial and desultory warfare. Quarrels among themselves reduced their numbers and impaired their strength; and early in 1831, Syed Ahmed was defeated and slain, in an action with

BOOK III. CHAP. V. a Sikh detachment commanded by the prince Shir Sing. His death put an end to the contest.[1]

1827. During the residence of the Governor-General in the mountains, hostilities of a different character, in which the interests of India were concerned, although remotely, broke out between Russia and Persia. The direct intercourse of the Court of Persia with the English Cabinet of St. James's, was no longer reçommended by any political advantage, and was found to be productive of much inconvenience and embarrassment. It was therefore resolved to revert to the former channel of communication—to discontinue the appointment of a Chargé d'Affaires on the part of the Crown—and to despatch an envoy to Tehran in the name of the East India Company. Upon the first proposal of this arrangement to the king, Futteh Ali Shah treated it as an indignity offered to his person, and refused to admit an envoy from the Indian Government. Being assured, however, that in that case no British representative would be appointed to his Court, and unwilling to lose the support of a British officer in the impending rupture with Russia—importuned also by the urgent representations of his eldest son, Abbas Mirza—he yielded, after some delay, a reluctant acquiescence, and consented to send an agent to Bombay to conduct the mission to his capital. Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald, who had been appointed envoy since 1824, and had been directed to await the issue of the negociation at Bombay, proceeded accordingly,

[1] Prinsep's Life of Runjeet Sing, 145. M'Gregor's History of the Sikhs, i. 196.

and joined the camp of the Shah at Ahar in September, 1826. He found the Persians engaged in hostilities with Russia, and claiming that pecuniary assistance to which they considered themselves entitled by the Definitive Treaty concluded at Tehran in 1814 in the event of an unprovoked attack upon Persia by a European power[1]. Admission of the justice of the claim depended upon the determination of the question — Who in the present instance was the aggressor?

Upon the termination of the preceding war with Russia, a boundary line between the two countries had been laid down in a general and vague manner; and its precise direction was left to be adjusted by commissioners appointed on either side. In the course of the adjustment, many differences and delays arose, which were reciprocally imputed to intentional obstructions, and were the topics of mutual ill-will and recrimination. The cabinet of St. Petersburg pertinaciously objected to the only arrangement by which a settlement of the dispute was feasible — the arbitration of British officers; and

[1] The 4th Article of Tehran, ran thus:—"It having been agreed by an Article in the preliminary Treaty concluded between the high contracting powers, that in case of any European nation invading Persia, should the Persian Government require the assistance of the English Government, the Governor-General of India, on the part of Great Britain, shall comply with the wish of the Persian Government, by sending from India the force required, with officers, ammunition, and warlike stores; or in lieu thereof, the English Government shall pay an annual subsidy, the amount of which shall be regulated in a Definitive Treaty to be concluded between the high contracting parties; it is hereby provided, that the amount of the said subsidy shall be two hundred thousand Tomans annually. It is further agreed, that the said subsidy shall not be paid, in case the war with such European nation shall have been produced by an aggression on the part of Persia." —Treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

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the frontier remained in consequence undetermined. The tribes situated in the disputed tracts, subject to no recognised control, transferred their allegiance at their pleasure to either of the parties, and were the cause of frequent annoyance to both. Their chiefs were also encouraged, when they had incurred the displeasure of the officers of one state, to seek an asylum within the limits of the other, and were protected against the consequences of their contumacy. It were difficult to decide which was most to blame. Apparently neither was actuated by a sincere desire to conclude a definitive settlement. Abbas Mirza, the eldest son and acknowledged successor of Futteh Ali Shah, who governed the frontier province of Azerbijan, relinquished with great reluctance any portion of his country, and trusted to the occurrence of some favourable opportunity for recovering the territory which the preceding war had wrested from Persia; while the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, steadily pursuing its system of progressive encroachment, silently countenanced the dilatory proceedings of its commissioners in determining the boundary question. It had gone farther, and had occupied a strip of land on the north-west of the Gokcha Lake belonging, by its own admission, to Persia—in retaliation, it was affirmed, of the Persian appropriation of a tract between the Chudao and Kapanek rivers, which, by the treaty of Gulistan, had been expressly assigned to Russia. The latter power, however, proposed to exchange the disputed districts; but the transfer was objected to by Abbas Mirza, on the ground that the command of the Gokcha Lake, would facilitate any attack of the

Russians on Erivan, a strong fortress, held by a chief who acknowledged allegiance to Persia and had always been the unrelenting enemy of the Russians. Whilst the subject was under discussion the Russians extended their posts to the south of the lake, and took possession of the whole of its circuit, refusing to withdraw their troops without the orders of the Emperor. Abbas Mirza was, in consequence, ordered to the frontier with a military force; and the divisions of his army crossed the boundary, and forcibly dislodged the Russian posts from the borders of the Gokcha Lake. The appearance of a Persian army was the signal for a general rising of the tribes of Karabagh, Shirwan, and Daghistan, who were unwilling subjects of Russia; and they joined the prince in great numbers. General Yermoloff, the Governor of Georgia, unprepared for the aggression, was too weak to repel it. The negotiations which had been pending had been nevertheless uninterrupted; and prince Menzikoff had been sent to Tehran, to effect an amicable accommodation with the Shah, when the rashness of Abbas Mirza put an end to the prospect of a pacific agreement. Although, therefore, the encroachments of Russia were of a nature to provoke the resentment of the Persian court, yet as long as an apparent readiness to submit its pretensions to equitable adjustment was manifested, no sufficient excuse was furnished for actual hostilities; and the charge of aggression was fairly ascribable, either to the recklessness or the policy of Abbas Mirza. The British envoy, therefore, objected to the payment of the subsidy as not due

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according to the terms of the treaty; and Persia was compelled to carry on the war on her own responsibility, and with her own unaided resources.

Some unimportant successes attended the first movements of the Prince. A Russian battalion was surprised and defeated, and the town of Shisha was surrendered. Abbas Mirza then despatched a strong division, under the command of his eldest son, Mohammed Mirza, towards the frontier of Georgia; but the Prince was met by a Russian force under General Madadoff, at the village of Shantkhai, and completely routed. To repair the consequences of this disaster, the prince moved with all his forces, estimated at thirty thousand horse and as many foot, with forty-four guns, against Ganja, which Madadoff had occupied, and where he had been joined by General Paskevitsch with his division. Although the Russians were greatly inferior in number, the fire from their artillery was so destructive, that the Persians attempted in vain to charge them; and, after sustaining severe loss, they broke and dispersed. Abbas Mirza, with not more than ten thousand men, retreated to Asplanduz, leaving the line of the Aras open to the enemy. The river was crossed, and the Russian General had advanced to within sixty miles of Tabriz, when he hesitated to follow up his advantage, and fell back to retain possession of Karabagh. At the same time, some desultory incursions, which had been attempted on the Georgian frontier by the Sirdar of Erivan, had terminated in the discomfiture of the Persians; and no doubt could be entertained of the result, when the whole available strength of Russia should be applied to the conflict.

After a short interval, rendered necessary by the inclemency of the season, during which the British envoy vainly endeavoured to impress upon Abbas Mirza the hopelessness of the contest, hostilities were resumed in Karabagh, by the advance of General Madadoff to the Aras; and in Georgia, by a demonstration against Erivan. Neither of these movements were successful; but they were soon repeated, under the abler direction of General Paskevitsch, who had been appointed to the government of Georgia. Leaving a force to observe Erivan, he marched to besiege Abbasabad, on the Aras. Learning that Abbas Mirza and the prime minister, the Asaf ud Dowla, had arrived in the vicinity to cover the fortress, he crossed the river and, on the 16th of July, came upon the Persian army, a portion of which had been concealed in a ravine, and was intended to fall upon the Russian flank, while engaged with the main body. The ambuscade was discovered; and guns were brought to bear upon the Persians stationed at the bottom of the ravine, by the fire of which they were nearly all destroyed. The defeat of the main force was equally complete. After the action, the Russians recrossed the Aras, and summoned the garrison of Abbasabad to surrender. The fort was given up; and as it was the key to the Persian provinces south of the river, its fall menaced the speedy loss of the whole of Azerbijan. The interposition of the British envoy was now resorted to; and a letter was addressed by him to the Russian General, to learn the terms on which negotiations might be based. These were the cession of the territory north of the Aras, and the

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payment of seven hundred thousand Tomans for the expenses of the war, stipulations to which the Shah was not yet prepared to accede; and the negotiation was broken off. The extreme heat of the weather, and the sickliness of the Russian army, prevented General Paskevitsch from following up his success. Abbas Mirza, and Hasan Khan, the Sirdar of Erivan, repaired to the fortress of the latter, in the hope of creating a diversion and relieving the line of the Aras from the pressure of the Russian army.

The movement in the direction of Erivan was not ill conceived, and was at first attended with advantage. The division of the Russian army left by General Paskevitsch to observe Erivan, was attacked, in the beginning of August, at Abiran by Abbas Mirza and the Sirdar, and after an obstinate engagement, which lasted from dawn till sunset, was entirely defeated, with the loss of nine hundred killed, and a thousand taken prisoners, and of six guns and a great quantity of arms and ammunition. The victory was due to the steadiness of the infantry and artillery of the Persian army, which had been trained in European discipline. The disaster was speedily retrieved. Paskevitsch returned with all his force to Erivan, and the Prince and the Sirdar retreated; the former to Mount Ararat, and the latter to the fortress of Sirdarabad, to which the Russians immediately laid siege. After the batteries had been constructed and the walls were breached, the garrison effected their escape, and the fort was taken possession of without resistance. The more important

fortress of Erivan was next besieged. The batteries were opened on the 7th of October, and on the 19th a storm was ordered; when the garrison, to the number of three thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This decided the fate of the campaign.

Taking advantage of the consternation occasioned by the capture of Erivan, Prince Aristoff, in command of a Russian division which had previously advanced to Marand, proceeded to Tabriz, the capital of Abbas Mirza. It was defended by the principal minister of Persia, Ali Yar Khan; but upon the approach of the Russians, his troops abandoned him, and the inhabitants hastened to make their submission to the Russians. The Prince, deserted by his troops, and in a state of utter destitution, retired to Ali Bengloo, whither he was accompanied by Colonel Macdonald, who had been indefatigable in his endeavours to effect a negociation with the Russians. Although declining to admit of his intervention as the representative of Great Britain, the Russian authorities declared that they were willing to avail themselves of his individual mediation to induce the Shah and his son to submit to the terms on which they insisted; threatening, in the event of non-compliance, to march to Tehran and dissolve the government of the Kajars; a government, of which assurances from all parts of Persia of anxiety to be taken under the Russian dominion, indicated the extreme unpopularity. Notwithstanding the impending danger, the Shah was with difficulty prevailed upon to part with any of his hoarded

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treasures in order to provide the pecuniary indemnification. The Russians, at first, demanded fifteen Crores of Tomans, but after a time, reduced the sum to eight, of which six and a half were to be paid forthwith: but the king obstinately refused to advance more than six[1]; and hostilities were on the point of being renewed. Arrangements were, however, devised for supplying the deficiency; one of which was the payment of two hundred thousand Tomans by the Indian Government, as an equivalent for the final abrogation of the articles of the Treaty of Tehran, which provided for a conditional subsidy[2]. This impediment being surmounted, a treaty of peace was concluded on the 23rd of February, 1828, at Turkmanchai, by which the Khanats of Erivan and Nakchivan, with the fortress of Abbasabad, were ceded to Russia; and a frontier line, generally following the course of the Aras to the Caspian Sea, was established. Besides this loss of territory, the result of the war was the complete prostration of Persia before the power of Russia, and the loss of that influence which the British Mission had hitherto enjoyed. The subservience of Persia to Russia is, however, but the concession of weakness to force; and in-

[1] These are the sums specified in the public despatches; but the Crore must have a very different value from that attached to it in India, where it denotes ten millions. A Toman is equal to about twenty-four shillings, which would make the Russian claim, therefore, equivalent to above a hundred and fifty millions sterling; an impossible sum: and, in fact, their first demand is stated in English money by the authority referred to, at £4,150,000; the sum paid will have been little more than two millions.

[2] The articles were cancelled by agreement with Abbas Mirza, ratified by the Shah. March, 1828. Treaties, printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

spires, in the minds of the natives of Persia, no other sentiments than those of resentment and animosity. The decline of British influence is no subject of regret in a political point of view; for the alliance of so feeble a state could never have added to the security of India, and might have been the cause of embarrassment to Great Britain. The chief author of this last and fatal struggle with Persia, Abbas Mirza, died at the end of 1833. The support of Russia, and concurrence of England, secured the acknowledgment of his son, Mohammed Mirza, as heir apparent, and his eventual succession to the throne.

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The Governor-General quitted the hills at the end of June, and returned in October to Calcutta; where the remainder of his residence in Bengal was occupied in carrying forward the measures that had been long in progress for the amelioration of the internal administration of the British provinces. The short duration of his government, and the absorbing interest of the war with Ava, had unavoidably interfered with due attention to internal improvement; but it had not been overlooked: and the several Presidencies had been diligently engaged, in proportion to their opportunities, in providing for a variety of important objects. In Bengal, the attention of the Government was mainly taken up with a laborious revision of past proceedings, or in devising plans for the future, which were brought into full effect under the succeeding administration. We have already had occasion to notice the former, in adverting to the despatch of the Bengal Government of February, 1827, in reply

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to the several communications received from the Court of Directors, between that date and 1814, on the subject of the Judicial Institutions of the Presidency of Bengal. In this letter, the measures suggested by the Court, in 1814, for the remedy of the defects in the judicial system, in the three branches, civil, criminal, and police, so strongly commented upon in the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1812, were taken into careful consideration, after a reference to all the principal judicial and revenue local authorities. The remedial arrangements recommended by the Court, resolved themselves into three heads:—1. The extended employment, in the distribution of civil justice, of native agency, and especially in the form of Panchayats, and of individuals possessing authority or influence, as the headmen of villages, opulent landowners, and the like. 2. The limitation of appeals, simplification of process, reduction of expense, and establishment of a new court of Sudder Diwani Adaulut: and, 3. The transfer from the judicial to the revenue authorities, of claims regarding land, disputes concerning boundaries, and the interchange of written engagements between the landowners and the ryots.

Under the first of these heads, it was satisfactorily shown in the reply, that the system pursued at Madras, and therefore enjoined to the authorities in Bengal, whatever might be its advantages in the former presidency, was utterly impracticable in the latter, for reasons which we have already had occasion to recapitulate[1]. At the same time,

[1] Vol. viii. p. 515. The Government of Bengal conclude, " We

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the soundness of the principle of extending native agency was unreservedly acknowledged; and it was announced, that arrangements for such extension were in progress. With regard to the limitation of appeals, it was not considered advisable to restrict it within narrower bounds than those already prescribed; nor was it looked upon as possible, with a due regard to the efficiency of the courts, to make any material alteration in the forms of process, or any considerable diminution of the charges which were not such as to discourage the prosecution of just claims. In the usefulness of a separate supreme court, of both civil and criminal justice, or Sudder and Nizamat Adaulats, for the western provinces, the local authorities concurred. Under the third head, the letter enumerated the different regulations passed since the year 1814, having for their object the formation and preservation of an accurate record of landed rights and interests, the new powers granted to the revenue officers for the investigation of those rights, the determination of the title to exemption from revenue in lands held free, the adjustment of special matters connected with revenue of a local origin, and the adjudication of disputes concerning branches of revenue unconnected with land.[1]

are, on the foregoing grounds, decidedly adverse to the introduction, as a formal and legalised part of our judicial system for the administration of civil justice at this Presidency, of the village and district panchayat institutions established at Fort St. George. The Sudder Diwani Adaulat, the Board of Commissioners in the Western Provinces, and almost without exception all the public officers who have been consulted on the subject, have expressed a similar opinion."—Report, Select Comm. H. of Commons 1832. Judicial. Appendix, p. 76.

[1] The principal Regulations passed for these purposes are of a prior

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In the department of Criminal Justice it was stated, that the powers of the magistrates had been much extended of late years; and that the consequence had been, the relief of the circuit judges from much of their labour[1]. Authority had been also given to the magistrates to refer to the law officers of the courts, and the principal Sudder Amins, the adjudication of charges for petty offences, subject to appeal to the magistrate. To entrust similar powers to the inferior police and judicial native officers, Darogas and Munsiffs, would be likely, it was asserted, to lead to much abuse and to disturb, rather than promote the peace and harmony of the village communities. Decided objection was also taken to the union of the office of magistrate with that of collector, as proposed by the Court, on the plea of incompatibility of functions, and the entire absorption of the time of the collector in the yet unsettled provinces by revenue details. The advantage of separating the duties of magistrate and judge, and confining the former to his peculiar functions, had been practically recognised; and

date, and have been noticed. Of those of a similar tendency, which fall within the period under review, may be specified Reg. XIII., 1824, assigning fixed salaries to the office of Sudder Amin; and one of 1827, extending his jurisdiction in civil suits to 1,000 rupees; and Regulations XIX., 1824, and IX., 1825, authorising collectors to adjudicate summary suits for arrears of rent, to let in farm, or take under government management, estates saleable for arrears of revenue, and to call upon all holders of lands rent-free or under permanent assignment, for the production of title, with other subordinate provisions.

[1] In the case of burglaries, for instance, it is stated, that those punished by the Court of Circuit amounted in 1817 and in 1818 to more than a thousand; and in 1822 and 1823 they had diminished to three hundred and forty-six and three hundred and twenty-three, respectively.—Report, App. Judicial, p. 117.

the arrangement had been adopted in several districts[1] with beneficial results.

From the tenor of this despatch, it is evident, that although some progress had been made in the improvement of the administration of justice, yet the advance was only tardily progressive, and much remained to be accomplished to adapt the system to the necessities of the country. In like manner, the progress made in the revenue settlements of the Upper Provinces was tedious and inconclusive; and the Government was far from being prepared to fix the limits of assessment for any protracted period. Temporary adjustments were, therefore, still unavoidable; and the existing settlements in the Conquered and Ceded provinces were severally renewed, in 1824 and 1826, for a further term of five years.[2]

The Government of Madras, under the Presidency of Sir Thomas Munro, also entered upon an investigation of the past arrangements in the several departments of the Judicial Administration, especially with a view to shew that no evil had arisen from the reduction of the provincial or Zilla courts superintended by the Company's servants, and that the greatest benefits had resulted from the extended activity of the District Native Judges. In order, however, to provide for the more ready access of the people to the superior Courts, and to train up

[1] Hoogly, Jessore, Nuddea, Purnia and Tirhoot. "The practical advantages which have resulted from the experiment, have fully realised the expectations which we had formed."—Report, Comm. Judicial. App. p. 110.

[2] Regulation IX., 1824, for the Conquered provinces and Bundelkand; and II., 1826, for the Ceded provinces.

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a body of judicial servants for the higher departments, auxiliary courts were instituted under European assistant judges, with full civil and criminal powers, but with certain limitations as to local jurisdiction[1]; and, shortly afterwards, courts were established with the same powers and limitations under native judges[2], to whom both a civil and criminal jurisdiction was intrusted over all persons within the districts placed under their authority, except Americans and Europeans. A regulation was also enacted in the same year[3] for the gradual introduction of trial by jury into the criminal judicature of the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George. The juries were to be summoned at the gaol-deliveries of the courts of circuit at the discretion of the judges. They were to be chosen from among respectable inhabitants of the district, whether Mohammedans or Hindus, with certain specified exemptions agreeably to lists to be prepared by the officers of the court. A jury was to be composed for each trial of not fewer than eight, not more than twelve members, the agree-

[1] Regulation I. XI. 1827. They were appointed at first in the districts forming the jurisdiction of the Zilla Courts of Canara, Malabar, Cuddapa, Madura, Salem, and Masulipatam. While proposing the arrangement, Sir T. Munro remarks, "It is not more courts that are wanted for the protection of the ryots from exaction, and of the inhabitants in general from theft and robbery, but more systematic experience, and consequently more aptitude among our local officers, both Native and European, for the discharge of their several duties."—Minute of the President, 30th Jan. 1827.—Report, Comm. Judicial, App. 233.

[2] They were empowered subsequently to decide civil suits to the extent of five thousand rupees. Section V. of Regulation I. 1827, which affixed that limit for the auxiliary court being equally applicable to the native court, by Regulation VII. 1827, Sect. V. Criminal Judicature was assigned to the native judges by Regulation VIII. of the same year.

[3] Regulation X. 1827.

ment of two-thirds of the number was essential to the verdict: a pecuniary allowance of one rupee a day was granted to each juror while in attendance on the court. At Madras, however, as well as in Calcutta, where a similar measure was subsequently adopted, service on juries was felt by the natives to be a grievance, rather than a privilege; and in neither presidency has it ever been fully carried into operation[1].

The progress of improvement in the civil administration of Madras, which had derived its chief impulse from the active and able superintendence of Sir Thomas Munro, was interrupted by his death. It had been his wish to have resigned his office at an earlier period, when the commencement of the war with Ava imposed upon him the duty of remaining at his post. During the war, he was indefatigable in promoting the objects of the expedition, and in furnishing men and supplies from Madras for the prosecution of hostilities. As soon as peace was restored, he renewed the expression of his earnest desire to be relieved, and anxiously solicited the appointment of a successor. A delay of a twelvemonth intervened between his resignation and the selection of the Hon. J. Lushington to take his place; and in the interval, an attack of Cholera disappointed his hopes of enjoying in his native land the retrospect of a long and honour-

[1] "With regard to the introduction of native juries, the Court of Directors have approved of the hesitation of this Government to adopt the measure, and of the suspension of the Regulation passed for the purpose of introducing it."—Minute by the Governor of Madras, Sept. 1830.—Report Comm. House of Commons, General Appendix III. p. 264.—Regulations I. to XXIX. 1827.

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able career of public duty. He died at Puteecondah, in the Ceded districts, on the 6th of July, 1827. Of the many servants of the East India Company, who have risen to merited distinction, none more richly deserved the honours with which his service had been rewarded, and the esteem which had accompanied him through life, or the universal sorrow which lamented his decease[1].

Still greater activity was exhibited in the task of legislation at Bombay under the direction of the Governor, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, and, in the course of 1827, a series of regulations was promulgated, constituting a complete code of the enactments of the Government, under the several heads of Civil and Criminal Law, Police, Revenue and Miscellaneous subjects. These regulations superseded all previous enactments. They were based, as far as was practicable, upon native institutions, and large powers were assigned to native functionaries[2]. The operation of these regulations was at once extended to the Company's

[1] The General Orders of the Madras Government, the resolutions of a numerous meeting of the European and Native community, and the resolutions of the Court of Directors bear concurrent testimony to the worth of his private and public character.—Life of Sir T. Munro, ii. p. 207.

[2] Native commissioners might be appointed in each Zilla for the trial of civil causes to the extent of five thousand rupees.—Regulation II. 1827, chap. IV. This limitation was abolished by Regulation I. 1830; and the jurisdiction of native commissioners was extended to the decision of original suits of whatever amount, with certain exceptions. The native collectors of districts, and the head-men of villages, were entrusted with charge of the police under the authority of the magistrate, Regulation XII. ch. I. V. and VI., and magisterial powers, including infliction of punishment under specified limitations, were conferred upon landholders, Regulation XV. The duties of native collectors, and of hereditary village officers, inclusive of accountants, were defined in Regulation XVI.

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possessions in the Dekhin and Kandesh[1], and subsequently to the southern Mahratta country, in which the regulations of the Government had not previously been current. Of the merits of the code, we have, after three years' experience, satisfactory testimony, shewing, that, while it was intelligible to the people, it was well adapted to their habits and condition, and admitted them to a full share of every branch of the administration of the country[2].

The immense expenditure of the war with Ava had seriously deranged the financial prosperity of British India, and compelled the Government to have recourse to extensive loans in aid of the ordinary resources. A loan of about nine crores, or nine millions sterling, at five per cent. per annum, was raised in 1823-4; and another of above ten millions, at the same rate, in 1825-6: a loan of four per cent. was opened in 1825-6; but a large portion of it was absorbed by the five per cent. loan of the following year. About two crores and a half were drawn from the treasury at Lucknow, and a number of native chiefs and bankers were also induced at the same time to lend considerable sums to the state, affording a satisfactory proof of their confidence in the stability of the Government[3]. A large portion of these loans was applied to dis-

[1] Regulation XXIV. 1827.

[2] Minute by Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, 1st Nov. 1830. —Report Comm. House of Commons, Judicial Appendix, 447.

[3] For instance, the Raja of Nagpore advanced five lakhs, the Raja of Benares two, the Bankers, Lukshmichund and Maniram, nine and a half. Even the Ex-peshwa was prevailed on to refund part of the savings from his pension, and Baji Rao assisted his deposers with several lakhs of rupees.

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charge other outstanding debts; but the general result was a considerable augmentation of the public burthens; and an excess of charge exceeding one million sterling, in addition to the territorial expenses defrayed in England, which, in the year 1827-8, exceeded two millions[1]. The financial prospects of the country were consequently of a most alarming complexion, and demanded the most careful scrutiny, with a view to the better adjustment of the expenses to the resources of British India.

The expected consolidation of the ecclesiastical establishment was interrupted by the premature loss of two prelates in succession, who had followed Dr. Middleton in the see of Calcutta. The first of them, Reginald Heber, brought with him an enquiring mind, a highly cultivated intellect, and a benevolent spirit, which were fitted to exercise the most beneficial influence over the Christian community. He arrived in Calcutta in October, 1823,

[1] The revenues of India in the year 1827-8 amounted to £22,863,000, the charges to £21,974,000, leaving a surplus receipt of £889,000; but the interest of the public debt amounted to £1,918,000, and consequently there was a local deficit of £1,029,000.—East India Accounts, May, 1832. From the same documents and others printed by the Committees of both Houses, 1830-1832, we are enabled to make a comparison between the financial circumstances of 1823-4, and 1827-8: there are some discrepancies between the different statements, but the difference is not considerable.

	Revenues.	Charges.	Surplus.
1822-3	£23,118,000	£18,406,000	£4,712,000
1827-8	22,863.000	21,974,000	889,000

Debt.	Principal.	Interest.	Increase.
1822-3	£29,388,000	£1,762,000	Prin. £10,218,000
1827-8	39,606,000	1,918,000	Int. 156,000

The increased rate of charge was partly owing to the war; having risen in 1825-6, to more than twenty-two millions, of which in that year the increase of the military charges amounted to £1,500,000; in the preceding year it was much the same, or £1,240,000. There had been, however, a considerable and progressive growth of the civil charges also.

and in June of the following year proceeded on his visitation of the stations in the Upper Provinces, and travelled across Central India to Bombay, visiting Ceylon on his way to Bengal, whither he returned in October, 1825. In the beginning of 1826, he visited the Madras provinces; and, in the hottest period of the year, repaired to Tanjore and Trichinopoly: at which latter station, on the 3rd of April, apparently from the effects of exposure to the climate acting upon an excitable temperament, he terminated his blameless and useful career[1]. He was succeeded in the see of Calcutta by Dr. James, to whom a still more contracted term of episcopal activity was granted, or from January 1828 to July, 1828; and his successor, Dr. Turner, was not permitted a much more prolonged exercise of his sacred functions. Arriving in India in October, 1829, he ended his days there in the middle of July, 1830. The shortness of the periods during which these prelates presided over the church of India, precluded them from the opportunity of effecting any material development of its organisation; but their concurrent efforts tended to raise its character, and extend its influence, and to give encouragement and animation to the extension of the teaching of Christianity.

The diffusion of education among the natives of India was also diligently fostered by the judicious

[1] Bishop Heber has left an imperishable record of his powers of observation in the journal of his travels, published posthumously. Although disfigured by some unimportant and venial mistakes, and some erroneous appreciation of existing institutions, the journal presents upon the whole a faithful, and at the same time, a lively picture of the condition of the country and the manners of the people.

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encouragement which it received from Earl Amherst's administration. Collegiate institutions were founded at Agra and at Delhi, and schools established in various provincial towns, upon the principles which had hitherto prevailed; the improved cultivation of those studies which were held in estimation by the people, by grafting upon them the accuracy of European information; and the extended cultivation of the English language where-ever circumstances were propitious to its acquirement: very extraordinary progress was made in this branch of study[1].

Among the minor objects which engaged the interest of the Government of Bengal, was the equipment of a vessel to verify the reported locality of the wreck of the celebrated navigator La Perouse, no vestiges of whose disappearance had yet been discovered. Capt. Dillon, commanding a country merchant vessel, trading between South America and Bengal, came upon a small island in the Pacific Ocean, from which he obtained various articles that attested the former presence of some French ship; of the wreck of which, on the coral reefs surrounding the island, traditions were preserved by the inhabitants. In order to obtain more positive evidence, Capt. Dillon was placed in command of a

[1] The pupils of the Vidyalaya, or the institution founded by the native Hindus of Calcutta, were made familiar with the best authors in the English language, and acquired a critical knowledge of their merits. They were thoroughly instructed in the leading facts of history and geography, and in the elements of physical science. Some of them made a considerable advance in mathematics. That some of them possessed also the power of expressing the results of their studies in correct idiomatic, and even eloquent, English, was evinced in several periodical publications. See also a volume of English Poems by Kali Prasad Ghose.

vessel of the Government, and sent back to procure any additional indications that might be obtainable, as well as to verify the reported existence of some of the survivors of the wreck. None of the latter were found; but an ample variety of arms and ship-furniture was collected, which had clearly belonged to a French vessel of war, and which were finally identified in France as having been on board the vessels commanded by La Perouse: thus establishing the island of Vanicolo as the scene of his unhappy fate.[1]

In these and similar peaceful occupations terminated the government of Lord Amherst: a government which could not be charged with a spirit of ambition or of martial enterprise; but which had nevertheless effectually checked the aggressions of the Burmas; had widely extended the confines of the British territory; and by the capture of Bhurtpore, effaced the only stain that tarnished the brilliancy of the military reputation of British India, and dissipated the vain belief of the natives, that there was at least one impregnable bulwark against its prowess. The commencement of Lord Amherst's administration was a season of unexpected trouble and anxiety. It closed in settled order and durable tranquillity; and although these important objects were not achieved without proportionate sacrifices and heavy financial embarrassment, yet

[1] Capt. Dillon was allowed to convey the articles he had collected to France, where they were recognised as having belonged to the French vessels Boussole and Astrolabe; and he was in consequence created by Charles X. a chevalier of the Legion of Honour with a pension for life. His discoveries were confirmed by the subsequent visit of Capt. D'Urville, commanding the French corvette, the Astrolabe, in February, 1828.—*Voyage de l'Astrolabe. Histoire*, tome 5, p. 124, *et suiv.*

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there was every reason to hope that the evil was transient, and that the succeeding administration would be freed from every risk of interruption in the prosecution of those economical reforms and internal improvements which had been already commenced. The departure of Earl Amherst was accelerated by the illness of a member of his family; and he sailed for England early in February, 1828, without awaiting the arrival of his successor.

CHAPTER VI.

Lord W. Bentinck appointed.— Prior to his arrival, Mr. W. B. Bayley, Governor-General.—First Measures of Lord W. Bentinck.—Economical Reform. —Reduction of Military Allowances, or Half-Batta Retrenchment.—Great unpopularity of the Reduction.—Memorials against it referred to the Court of Directors.—Orders to maintain it.—Appointment of Committees of Finance.—Reductions effected.—Improvement of Sources of Revenue.—Attempt to limit the Production of Malwa Opium. —Treaties with Native Princes.—Evils and Insufficiency of the Plan.—Abandoned.—Opium Passes granted.—Successful.—Investigation of Rent-free Tenures.—Origin of Exemptions.—Recognised by the British Government.—Regulations for investigating Invalid Titles.—Appointment of Special Commissioners.—Petition against the Enactment.—Change of System in uniting

Judicial and Revenue Functions.—Appointment of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit,—Advantages of Simplification,—Defects of the Plan,—its Failure.—Alterations in Civil Justice.—Extended Employment of Native Judges.—Second Court of Appeal appointed, and Deputation of Revenue Board at Allahabad.—Abolition of Suttee,—previous Measures of the Government to restrain the Practice,—their Insufficiency.—Civil and Military Officers consulted by Governor-General,—Difference of Opinion,—Arguments against Abolition,—those in favour of it,—Resolution of the Governor-General to prohibit Suttees,—Regulation to that effect,—no Resistance offered,—prohibited at Madras and Bombay.—Petition of Hindus of Bengal against the Regulation,—Counter Petition—Appeal to the King in Council,—read before the Privy Council,—Appeal dismissed,—prohibited by some of the Native States.—Enactments securing Hereditary Rights of Converts from Hinduism.—Judicial and Revenue Enactments at Madras and Bombay.—Discontinuance of Separate Legislation.—Dispute with Supreme Court at Bombay,—recent Establishment of the Court—Loftiness of its Pretensions—Extension of Claims of Jurisdiction.—Case of Moro Raghunath of Poona.—Writ of Habeas Corpus issued for his Production—Execution resisted—Jurisdiction of Court denied.—Death of two of the Judges.—Letter of the Government,—treated as derogatory and illegal,—referred by Petition of Sir J. Grant to the Privy Council,—Process re-issued,—opposed by the Government,—Court

closed,—re-opened,—Grounds of Proceedings.—Powers of the Court of King's Bench universal over the Subjects of the Crown,—same delegated to the Court of Bombay.—Privy Council decide against the Pretensions of the Court.—Investigations in Bengal in Communication with the Judges as to a Legislative Council,—recommended.——Final Arrangement,—Legislative Member of Council.— Visit of Governor-General to the Hills.—Plan of Revenue.—Settlement of the North-Western Provinces finally determined, and actively carried on.—Practices of the Murderers, called Thugs,—Measures for their Extirpation,—their Success.—Progress of Education.—Exclusive Cultivation of English proposed,—objections to.—Steam Communication with Europe.—Commerce.—Finance.—Revenue.

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The circumstances under which Lord W. Bentinck was recalled from the government of Madras, have been recorded in a preceding volume. Dissatisfied with the partial retractation of the censure then pronounced by the Court of Directors, he was naturally and commendably anxious to receive a more unequivocal proof of his restoration to their confidence; and had for some time past made known to them, his desire to be again employed in their service. His wishes were at last complied with; and, in July, 1827, he was nominated Governor-General upon the resignation of Earl Amherst. The departure of that nobleman having taken place somewhat earlier than was expected, and Lord W. Bentinck's arrival in India being delayed until July, 1828,

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during the interval between that date and the sailing of his predecessor, the office of Governor-General devolved upon the senior member of council at the Presidency, Mr. William Butterworth Bayley, a distinguished member of the civil service of the Company. No public events of any importance occurred during the period of his administration; but it was busily engaged in laying the foundation of various important measures of internal improvement, the completion of which was reserved for the subsequent government. About the same time, the other Presidencies were placed under new Governors, in the persons of The Honourable Mr. Lushington, at Madras, and Sir John Malcolm, at Bombay.

The very great deficiency of the public revenue, and the embarrassed condition of the finances of India, had been the subject of grave and deliberate consideration by the authorities in England; and the indispensable necessity of various economical reforms had been forcibly impressed upon the attention of the new Governor-General. The emergency of the case admitted of no denial; and the interests of the Indian Empire unquestionably demanded early and sweeping retrenchments. A conviction of this necessity, and a determination to conform to the letter of his instructions, influenced the very first proceedings of Lord W. Bentinck; and he had scarcely taken his seat in council, when he instituted arrangements for reducing the public expenditure, in both the civil and military branches of the service, according to the scale of 1823-4, which had been assumed by the Court

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of Directors and Board of Control as a moderate and safe standard[1]. The prevalence of tranquillity, and the little probability of its being disturbed, permitted of large reductions of the numerical strength of the armies of the three Presidencies; and they were accordingly effected, as opportunity allowed, without exciting dissatisfaction. One measure, however, was enforced, which, affecting the interests of a considerable portion of the officers of the Bengal Army, was productive of very widely diffused discontent, and exposed the Governor-General to an intensity of unpopularity with the military branch of the service, which no circumstances in his subsequent administration were able to allay.

At an early period of the East India Company's rule, a considerable addition had been made to the pay of officers of various ranks under the denomination of Batta[2]. The entire addition was granted to them when in the field within the territories of the Company. It was doubled when they served beyond the frontier; but reduced to a half when they were stationed in cantonments where quarters were provided for them. The grant of double Batta was early withdrawn, except with respect to troops serving in the dominions of the Nawab Vizir; but when the Lucknow subsidy was commuted for territorial cessions, this advantage was also discontinued. At the same time, officers were required to provide

[1] Letter from the Court, 12th December, 1827.—Committee, H. of Commons. Finance. App. No. V.

[2] Batta, or more properly Bhát'ha, is a Hindi and Mahratta word, signifying merely "Extra-pay or allowance."

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themselves with quarters when not in the field; and as a compensation for the loss of this accommodation, whole Batta was granted to them, whether in cantonments or on actual service[1]. This equalization of the extra-allowance, although originating in a notion that it was an economical arrangement, had never been approved of by the Home authorities, and instructions were sent to Bengal, in 1814, to revert partially to the former plan, and to grant Half-Batta only at the original stations of the army, or those which were established prior to the extension of the British territories, authority being at the same time conveyed to make an allowance for quarters at those stations. The grant of the latter was effected in 1814; but the Marquis of Hastings and Earl Amherst both objected strenuously to the proposed reduction of the Batta, and referred it for reconsideration to the Court. The Court persisted in its resolution; and the fulfilment of its positive injunctions devolved upon the new Governor-General on the very first exercise of his delegated authority. Orders so reiterated and so positive could not be disobeyed consistently with the obligations under which he had accepted office; and Lord W. Bentinck had no other alternative than to obey or resign his appointment. The latter was a sacrifice scarcely to be expected from him; and an impression prevailed that he felt little reluctance in executing the obnoxious instructions. An order was promulgated, in November, 1828[2], which

[1] General Order of the Governor-General in Council, 9th April, 1801. Facts and Documents relating to Half-Batta, etc. Calcutta, 1829, p. 131.

[2] General Order, 9th Nov. 1828.—Facts and Documents, p. 132.

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reduced the allowance of Batta to a half at the stations of Dinapore, Berhampore, Barackpore, and Dum-dum, to which a fifth, Ghazipore, was afterwards added. So considerable a deduction from the pay of the junior officers especially, was naturally productive of discontent; and urgent remonstrances against it were presented by different regiments through the recognised channels[1]. The Commander-in-Chief, Viscount Combermere, also protested strongly against its adoption[2]. It was argued, that the reduction was a virtual breach of the conditions under which officers purchased the public quarters transferred to them by public sale in 1801: that it fell with peculiar severity upon the junior officers, whose aggregate allowances were insufficient for their support, and who were subjected to more than the ordinary expenses of living at the stations to which the order applied: that it was unequal in its effects upon the different branches of the army, as the cavalry were never quartered at any of the Half-batta stations, while the artillery head-quarters were always at Dum-dum; and that the total amount of the saving to the state accomplished by the retrenchment, was too insignificant[3] to constitute an equivalent for the injury inflicted on individuals, and the feeling of dissatisfaction which it inspired. These representations were submitted to the Government by the Commander-in-Chief, and

[1] See the Memorials printed in the Facts and Documents.

[2] The letter is published in the Asiatic Monthly Journal of Nov. 1829, p. 600.

[3] The annual saving was estimated at Sicca Rupees 1.98.547, or between 19,000*l.* and 20,000*l.*—Table of Military Reductions, Comm. House of Commons, Finance, Appendix, No. 7, p. 246.

through him the memorialists were apprised[1], that copies should be forwarded to the Court of Directors, with an intimation that it would afford the Governor-General sincere gratification, if the Court should see fit to re-consider their orders—a reply sufficiently indicative of the little regard likely to be paid to popular agitation by the head of the Government[2]. The answer to such a reference it was easy to anticipate; and accordingly a letter from the Court, dated in March, 1830, which, by their instructions, was published to the army, expressed their determination, with the concurrence of His Majesty's ministers, including the Duke of Wellington, to enforce the retrenchment which they had ordered, after expressing their disapproval of the tone of the memorials which they considered to be inconsistent with the principles of military subordination, and recalling to the recollection of the officers the various measures adopted by the Court, or through their intervention, for their advantage and honour[3]. They asserted their right in common

[1] By a circular notice issued from the office of the Adjutant-General, 67th April, 1829.—Facts and Documents, p. 80.

[2] The same indifference was exhibited towards the Indian press, in which the Half-batta regulation was fully and freely commented upon, in a strain which preceding administrations would scarcely have tolerated; but which was prudently unnoticed: a system pursued consistently by Lord W. Bentinck throughout his government; and which, although he refrained from any removal of the existing restrictions, was equivalent to a recognition of the almost unchecked freedom of the press.

[3] These were thus enumerated by Colonel Salmon. The rank of Colonel regimentally; Brevet rank for distinguished services in the field, and the honors of the Bath; an increased proportion of Field-Officers to Captains and Subalterns; command-money to Officers commanding Regiments and Battalions; augmentation of Brigadiers' commands both in number and value; addition of a fifth Captain to every regiment of Cavalry and Infantry, and every Battalion of

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with that of all governments to augment or reduce the allowance of public servants, as the circumstances of the state might require, and maintained the justice as well as the necessity of the retrenchment in question, as no compacts had ever existed between the Court and those who entered their military service; and as it was the paramount duty of the Court to effect such a reduction of expenditure as should enable them to conduct their affairs without the imposition of any new burthens upon the people of India, or the demand of aid from the people of England. The promulgation of this order precluded all further remonstrance[1]. The necessity of economy admitted of no dispute. The objection taken to the measure, on account of the limited amount of the saving accruing from the Half-batta retrenchment, might have been equally applied to many other items of the public expenditure, and by preserving the individual details untouched, would have prevented any diminution of the general aggregate. Still, as the saving was effected at the expense of a class of the military servants of the Company, whose allowances were for the most part regulated by a scale barely sufficient for their support, and whose prospects of promotion had been clouded by the recent reductions to which the constitution of the army had been subjected, it was much to be regretted, that a more liberal consider-

Engineers and Artillery; appointment of an interpreter to every regiment; increased ratio of retiring and furlough pay; improvement of off-reckonings at the Company's expense; and grant of advantages of remittance and interest to the military retiring fund.—Comm. House of Commons, Military, Evidence, 538.

[1] The Calcutta Government Gazette, Sept. 3, 1830.—Asiatic Monthly Journal, Feb. 1831, p. 97.

ation was not given to their circumstances, and some less unpopular source of economy devised. Their remonstrances, however, had possibly the effect of deterring the home authorities from attempting a wider extension of the obnoxious retrenchment.

An arrangement of a more deliberate and comprehensive scope was at the same time adopted by the Governor-General, in the appointment of committees for the especial purpose of investigating the particulars which constituted the augmentation of the public charges, and for bringing them back to the level of 1823-4. Two committees were at first nominated, one civil, one military, to be composed each of three members, one from each of the three Presidencies, holding their sittings at Calcutta. These committees were authorised to institute a full and detailed inquiry into the establishments entertained, and the charges incurred in all the branches, civil and military, of the administration of the different Presidencies, with the view particularly of unfolding all items of expense uselessly incurred, of exhibiting those which might admit of retrenchment, with the least public inconvenience; and of suggesting such alterations as might appear calculated to secure to the utmost practicable extent, unity, efficiency, and economy in the general management of public affairs[1]. The sweeping reductions made by the home authorities in the military disbursements involving a considerable diminution of the strength of the army, left so little

[1] Minute of Governor-General, 7th October, 1828.—Comm. House of Commons, General App. iii.

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for the military committee to undertake, that its services were superfluous. The civil committee prosecuted its labours with unremitting assiduity for several years; and in communication with the different governments, or in pursuance of instructions from England, suggested a number of economical arrangements, immediate or prospective, and various modifications of existing establishments, by which an aggregate annual saving of about half a million sterling was effected. The military reductions were still more considerable, exceeding double that amount[1]. Even this, however, was less than the exigence of the case demanded, as a surplus revenue of at least two millions sterling in India, was required to defray the annual expenses incurred in England on account of the territorial administration of India[2], consisting in great part of interest payable on loans raised in the latter country, and of the allowances and pensions granted to the retired servants of the Company—charges as burthensome as unprofitable to the finances of India: a perpetual and increasing drain on its resources, yielding no sort of return.

A measure, partly of a financial, partly of a

[1] Total of civil reductions	Sicca Rupees	46.26.075
Ditto of military ditto		1.09.13.837
Total		1.55.39.912

or £1,553,991. Of the former, however, many of those which were prospective, depended upon remote contingencies; and of the latter, the only reductions which could be regarded as immediate, were those of irregular corps and establishments. The reductions of the regular army, depending upon not filling up vacancies as they occurred, would require from three to four years.—Comm. House of Commons, Finance, App. No. 7.

[2] Minute of Governor-General, 30th Oct. 1829.—Comm. House of Lords, App. A. 7.

political character, was the result of Lord William Bentinck's voyage to the Eastern Settlements, which he undertook in the beginning of 1829. After a flying visit to Penang, Singapore, Malacca, and the settlements on the coasts of Tenaserim and Arakan, Lord W. Bentinck returned in April to Calcutta, prepared to carry into operation the changes which had been enjoined from home, as well as those retrenchments which his personal observation had suggested. Besides various alterations of detail, and considerable reductions of the existing establishments, the separate government of Penang, with its dependencies of Malacca and Singapore, was abolished, and made subordinate to Bengal. Each was at first placed under a deputy-resident, subject to the control of a Commissioner or Resident for the Straits[1]. A modification of this system became subsequently necessary, but the dependence of the eastern settlements upon the Government of Bengal was undisturbed.

Concurrently with the adoption of arrangements for diminishing the amount of the public expenditure, others were determined upon for the actual or prospective augmentation of the available resources. Among these, the protection of the Opium Monopoly from the disadvantageous competition to which it was exposed by the cultivation of the drug in Malwa, and its export by native dealers to China, had been long

[1] The titles of Governor and Resident Council, among other things, abolished by Lord W. Bentinck's sweeping measure of 1830, were shortly afterwards nominally restored: it being found that the charter of 1807 was so worded, that the King's Court of Judicature in the Straits could not be held in consequence of the non-attendance of those officers.—Newbold's Straits of Malacca, vol. i. 7.

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a subject of consideration with the Government of Bengal. As long as Central India was a scene of anarchy and desolation, cultivation of every kind was suspended, and the conveyance of natural produce to distant markets was rendered impracticable, by the imminent hazard to which travellers and traders were exposed, of being robbed and murdered on the road by the lawless bands which devastated the country. The poppy was therefore reared, only as a scanty and precarious crop for local consumption alone, and there was no fear of finding in the opium of Malwa a formidable rival to the produce of Bengal. With the restoration of order and security, cultivation and commerce revived; and the native capitalists speedily embarked in a traffic which promised them returns so lucrative as the export of opium to the east. The growth of the poppy, to which many parts of Central India were propitious, rapidly spread; and, after abundantly supplying the local demand, considerable quantities of opium, the transit of which was obstructed on the direct route to Bombay by the prohibitory enactments of the British authorities, found their way from Malwa and the eastern Rajput states, as Bundi and Kota, to Pali, in the principality of Udaypur; whence the drug was carried through Jesselmer, and across the desert to the port of Karachi in Sindh, and thence to the Portuguese settlements of Diu and Daman. The opium was there purchased by the European and Native merchants of Bombay, and exported in vessels under Portuguese colours to the Eastern Archipelago and China; and although of somewhat inferior quality to the opium of Behar,

it obtained a ready sale at prices sufficient to cover the whole cost of transport, and realise a handsome profit. There was every probability, therefore, that the trade would increase, and seriously affect the revenue derived in Bengal from the opium-monopoly.

The anticipated consequences of the augmented export of Malwa opium attracted the attention of the Government, as soon as it became an article of substantive value; and measures for guarding against them were very early contemplated. To prohibit the growth of the poppy in states which were internally independent, was very properly held to be a stretch of power which was unwarranted by subsisting relations; and it was resolved therefore to enter the market as a purchaser, and buy up so large a portion of the supply, as should leave little or none for the indirect export. This plan, as might have been easily foreseen, tended only to keep up the prices; on the one hand, encouraging the extension of the cultivation; and on the other, absorbing the profits of the shipment and resale[1]. A change of agency, and its transfer from Bombay to Bengal, were next tried, but without material benefit. It was therefore determined to endeavour to enlist the native princes in the service of prohibition, and induce them to place restrictions on the culture of the poppy, and prevent its transit through their territories, by undertaking to pay them an annual fixed sum as an equivalent for any diminution of revenue which

[1] The amount of the purchases of the agent, at first a Bombay officer· exceeded in one year (1823) eighty-six lakhs of Rupees, £860,000.

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they might sustain in the assessment of the lands, and the loss of duties upon the passage of the drug. Partly tempted by the prospect of present personal advantage, and partly overborne by the commanding influence of the British Government, most of the princes of Malwa and Rajputana acceded to this arrangement, and concluded formal treaties, by which, in consideration of certain stipulated annual payments, and after provision made for internal supply, they conceded to the British agent the unnatural privilege of paralysing national industry, and extinguishing native enterprise[1]: injuries almost capable of counterbalancing all the benefits conferred upon Central India, by the extermination of the predatory system. The mischievous results were very soon sensibly felt both by princes and people, particularly in those states in which the cultivation of the poppy was extensive, as in Kota, where it had usurped the place of the crops of grain which the immunity of the country from the general devastation that surrounded it, had, through the wisdom of its ruler, Zalim Sing, particularly favoured. A temporary agreement was neverthe-

[1] See the Treaty with the Rana of Udaypur, October, 1824. It consisted of nine articles. By the first and second, the Rana engaged to prevent the sale and transit of opium throughout his dominions; the third fixed the annual compensation at 40,000 Rupees; the fourth conditioned that the British agent should have the sole control of all arrangements and checks necessary for the object of the treaty; the fifth provided for the supply of a sufficiency for domestic use; and the sixth, for its restriction to domestic purposes; by the seventh and eighth, all unlicensed opium was to be seized and delivered to the agent, who should pay for it the price current in Malwa, half of which was to go the informer; the ninth article stipulated that the engagement should be binding as long as the restrictive measures should be considered necessary. Similar engagements were concluded with Holkar, and most of the petty princes of Malwa, but Sindhia, and the rulers of Jaypur, and Jodhpur, declined to enter into them.

less effected with the Raj Rana of the same tenor as that with the other chiefs; but the compact excited general dissatisfaction among the people, and upon its expiring, it was not renewed. It was agreed instead, that the British Government should purchase the larger portion of the opium grown in Kota, giving to the Raj Rana a bonus on the price, on condition of his preventing the sale of any further quantity for the purpose of export. This plan proved equally distasteful to the merchants and vexatious to the growers; and was attended, it was asserted, with so much injury to the revenue, that it could not be insisted on with any regard to the fair claims of the state. Although the like feelings of discontent had not been openly avowed in other quarters, yet they had been similarly excited; and had led to evasion and resistance. The forcible seizure and confiscation of the opium in transit by the subordinate officers of the British Agency, was a manifest violation of the independence which had been acknowledged by treaty, and which, although sanctioned by special agreements, could not fail to be a fruitful source of contention and annoyance: nor was the interference, in all cases, tamely submitted to: armed men were hired to escort the opium on its way through the territories where it was treated as contraband; and the attempts of the chiefs themselves to be faithful to their engagements and prevent its passage, were encountered with a resolute defiance which led to serious affrays and loss of life[1]. Nor could the system be effectual. As long

[1] In Bundi, in 1827, a body of Minas, guarding a quantity of opium in transit to Jaypur, was attacked by a party of the Raja's

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as Jaypur and Jodhpur were open to the passage of the drug, it was of little avail to shut up the avenues through those territories the princes of which were parties to the prohibition. Even, in regard to them, however, it was impossible to seal hermetically every channel by which the trade could find an issue; and in spite of all precautions the traffic went on increasing with the augmented stringency of the checks devised for its limitation[1]. This failure, and the obvious objections to the whole scheme, had for some time past disposed the Bengal Government to relinquish its prosecution; and during the administration of Mr. Bayley, inquiries were instituted with a view to its abandonment. Lord W. Bentinck took the same view of the arrangement as his predecessor[2]; and it was resolved to desist from all interference with the growth and transit of opium in the territories of the native chiefs, and to consider the treaties by which they were bound to prevent the trade as null and void, under the clause authorising the British Government to continue the restriction only while it should look upon it as essential to its interests.

troops, headed by a relation of the Raja. The troops were defeated with loss, and their leader was slain. The hill tribes, Minas, Mhers, and Bhils, were extensively employed as escorts to the illicit trade; and their natural turbulence was dangerously fostered by the employment.

[1] According to information obtained at Bombay, the export of opium from Daman, in the year 1827-8, was four thousand chests. In 1820-21 it did not exceed six hundred. At the latter date, not less than ten or eleven thousand maunds were carried out of Malwa, through Bundi and Udaypur; while the quantity seized was not above six hundred.

[2] Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, 10th June, 1829. For this and other details, see the Third Report of the Comm. of the House of Commons, 1831. Appendix IV.

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In place of the prohibitory engagements, it was at first attempted to revert to the original plan of purchasing the produce; but, as this was not found to answer, recourse was had to a system of licensing the direct conveyance of opium from the country where it was grown to Bombay, for sale or export on private account, charging for the license such a sum as should be equivalent to the cost and risk of conveyance by the circuitous route to Daman, and the duties there levied[1]. This plan was attended with more than the anticipated success, and secured to Government a considerable annual revenue from the opium commerce of Central India, without doing wrong to the interests of princes or people[2].

Measures affecting the financial demands of the State, and the interests of important classes of its subjects, the holders of land in the permanently settled provinces, had also been for a considerable time past under the consideration of the authorities both in England and in India. During the rule of the native princes, the sovereign exercised the privilege of exempting portions of the land from payment of the government assessment in favour of particular individuals or public establishments. Although the exemption was declaredly perpetual,

[1] Bombay.—Regulation XX. of 1830.

[2] The charge of the Pass or License was fixed at 175 rupees per chest. In 1830-31 passes were granted for 951 chests, amounting to rupees 1.66.425. In the following year, the quantity rose to 7.156 chests; and the amount paid for the Passes to Rupees 12.52.300. Comm. House of Commons. Revenue. App. p. 184. In later years, the sale of opium passes and opium at Bombay had risen to between thirty and forty lakhs of rupees. In 1844-5 the amount was, Rupees 37.90.000 —Annual Accounts.

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yet it was well understood that it was granted only during the will or the power of the prince; and that, if he did not resume the grant himself, a circumstance by no means unfrequent, it was likely to be held in little reverence by his successor. The practice, however, continued to prevail; and, in the absence of all controlling authority in the latter days of the empire of Delhi, the privilege was usurped, not only by the governors of provinces, but by the subordinate revenue officers, and by the occupants of the land, who thus unauthorisedly crippled the resources of the state and defrauded the public revenue. A native administration, conducted with the vigour which it occasionally exhibited, would soon have remedied this disorder; but the forbearance of the British Government induced it to adopt the principle, that all alienations made previous to its accession to the Dewani, provided the grantees were in actual possession, should be held valid to the extent of the intentions of the grantor, as ascertainable from the terms of the writings by which the grants had been conveyed, or from the nature and denomination of the exemption. As no complete register of the exempted lands was recorded, the Zemindars, and farmers and collectors of the revenue, availed themselves of the limitation to withdraw extensive tracts from asessment, under pretext of their previous exemption, as substantiated by forged and fraudulent documents. Although aware of these practices, and in some degree guarding against them by a condition in the permanent settlement, which reserved to the Governor-General in Council power to impose an

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assessment upon all such portions of the land as should prove to have been exempted under an illegal or invalid title, yet a very superfluous tenderness was shown towards the Zemindars, by securing those, who held rent-free lands by titles that might be declared valid, in the possession of their property; and by requiring that the illegality of a title should be established in a court of judicature before the land should be subjected to assessment; disregarding the facts, that every alienation of the public revenue in the lower provinces must have been made, during the preceding half-century at least by usurped and incompetent authority; and that, at no period of native rule, was the irrevocableness of such exemptions recognised in practice. The alienations received, however, in 1793, the formal sanction of the Government, subject to specified conditions; the failure of which was to be established by the Collector, with the sanction of the Revenue Board, through the institution of a regular suit in a court of law, the burthen of proving the invalidity of the title resting with the Collector. The inefficiency of the enactment was soon manifested; and, after various attempts to devise a remedy, which were but of partial and incomplete operation, the Collectors were empowered, with the approbation of the Board of Revenue, to set on foot a direct inquiry into the titles of rent-free lands, and call for written vouchers and examine witnesses, and pronounce a decision either for or against the occupant. If the latter, and the sentence was confirmed by the Board, the land was assessed at the usual rate, leaving to the proprietor liberty to

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appeal to a court of law against the decision[1]. This enactment proved as ineffective as the preceding. Few cases were brought forward for trial; and the decisions of the courts upon appeals from the judgments of the revenue officers were so long delayed, or so uncertain and contradictory, that neither the interests of the appellant nor those of the Government were benefited by the procedure. It still remained necessary, therefore, to adopt more vigorous measures, in order to vindicate the just claims of the state, and recover such portions of the revenue as had been illegally or fraudulently alienated; although the lapse of time and the repeated transfer of the property rendered the task difficult without the infliction of occasional injustice upon individuals. In order to accomplish this object, a regulation[2] had been promulgated shortly before the arrival of the Governor-General, but in which Lord W. Bentinck unhesitatingly concurred. By this it was declared competent to the Governor-General to appoint Special Commissioners to hear and decide upon all appeals made to them from the adverse decisions of the Collectors in levying an assessment upon lands previously held rent-free. These Commissioners were selected for their qualifications in both the Judicial and Revenue departments, and according to the circumstances of the district in which their services were required. The Government was not deterred from committing the inquiry and decision, in the first instance, to the Collectors of the revenue, as the rigorous separation of the revenue and judicial services,

[1] Regulation II., 1819.

[2] Regulation III., 12th June, 1828.

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which was so strenuously insisted upon in the system of 1793, had long been found inconvenient, and had been, in a great degree, practically abandoned. The Collectors were, therefore, habituated to the exercise of judicial functions; and as the per-centage formerly allowed to them upon the establishment of a case of resumption had been done away with, there did not appear reason to apprehend any partial judgment from them more than from any other class of functionaries. An excess of zeal might occasionally influence the proceedings of the Collector; but a corrective of a hasty or prejudiced judgment on his part would be supplied, it was expected, by the final award of the Special Commissioners. The check was at first found less effectual than had been anticipated, and much mischief and alarm were ultimately created by the ill-judged activity of some of the revenue officers requiring the interposition of the Home authorities. This belongs to a later period. In the mean time the enactment was contemplated with much dissatisfaction by parties interested in retaining lands exempt from revenue-deductions; and petitions against the measure were presented by a number of the Zemindars of Bengal and Bahar. Their representations were not considered, however, of sufficient weight to require the reconsideration of a measure which was intended to uphold the just demands of the State against the encroachments of interested individuals, and protect the owners of valid tenures against unnecessary disquiet and alarm[1].

[1] Committee House of Commons. Revenue. App. 85. Inquiry into

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Nor were the revenues of the State the sole object at this period of the attention of the Government; and measures which had been long under consideration were now brought into operation, involving a material departure from the existing system, in the re-organisation of the superior courts of Criminal Justice and the combination of their functions with the control of the Revenue—a union of duties which it was the fundamental principle of the reforms of 1793 to annul. The superintendance, however, of the magistracy and police, and the control over the revenue officers, as provided for by actual regulations, had long been found insufficient[1]. The provincial courts of Appeal and Circuit, partly from the vast extent of their jurisdiction, and partly from their being burthened with the functions of both civil and criminal tribunals, had proved inadequate to the demands of public justice, and while the causes appealed to them had been suffered to fall into almost hopeless arrear, the periods fixed for the regular gaol-deliveries had been protracted beyond the legal limits, and persons had been detained in confinement without trial for a length of time which was equivalent to an anticipation of punishment, even although undeserved. In like manner the great extent of country placed under the authority of the Boards of Revenue, particularly in the Western Provinces, rendered it impossible for them to exercise an effectual check over the pro-

Alienation of the Land Revenue. Letter from Bengal, 23rd February, 1830.

[1] Governor-General's Minute, January, 1834. Extracts, Revenue Records. Calcutta—Printed, 1837.

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ceedings of the subordinate officers; and embarrassed and retarded the decision of many important questions relating to the assessment of the unsettled districts, and the adjudication of public and private claims. In order to remedy these defects, it was considered advisable to place the magistrates and the collectors, and the executive officers of both police and revenue, under the superintendence of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, each of whom was vested with the charge of such a circumscribed tract of country as should bring him, when stationary, within ready reach of the people, and should enable him to make frequent circuits through the extent of his jurisdiction[1]. To these Commissioners were consigned the powers previously intrusted to the Courts of circuit and Boards of Revenue, to be exercised under the authority of the Supreme Criminal Court, and a Supreme Board of Revenue at Calcutta; and to them also were transferred the duties of the Special Commission, appointed in 1821 to redress the injuries inflicted on the inhabitants of the Western Provinces, in the assessment of the revenue. The revenue boards in the provinces, and the office of superintendent of police, were abolished, and the functions of the provincial courts confined to the hearing of appeals in civil causes. Twenty Commissioners were nominated, besides the special commissioners already appointed in Cuttack, Asam, Arakan, and other parts of the country, to which the operation of the regulations had not yet been extended. This combination of duties, however

[1] Revenue Letter from Bengal, 10th December, 1828. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial. App. No. III. Regulation I, 1829.

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repugnant to the notions of English law and the condition of society in Europe, was better suited to the state of things in India and the sentiments of the people, than the distinctions which had heretofore existed, and which had been constructed upon an English model; but it disappointed the expectations formed of its utility, and very shortly was found to require essential modification. The scheme of combination was neither sufficiently simple, nor sufficiently comprehensive[1]; and the powers of the Commissioners were hampered by conflicting and independent authorities. Too much of detail was also assigned to them, to leave them adequate leisure for the duty of superintendence; and the extent of their jurisdiction was still too wide to admit of minute and frequent visitation. It was found advisable, consequently, to make a provision for relieving them of their judicial functions, whenever they became too heavy, and to transfer the trial of all criminal commitments to Zilla, and city judges, specially appointed to conduct the duties of the sessions, and to hold monthly gaol-deliveries.

[1] These were the grounds of objection taken by Sir C. Metcalfe. He remarks:—"The best form of government, with a view to the welfare of the natives of India in their present state, I believe to be that which is most simple and most free from artificial institutions. The best form of government, with a view to the maintenance of British dominion in India, I believe to be that which is most conducive to a union of powers, and most free from the elements of collision and counteraction." He proceeds accordingly to suggest a plan, of which the summary outline is the following:—Native functionaries, in the first instance, in all departments. European superintendents, uniting the local powers of judicature, police and revenue, in all their branches, through the districts over which they preside. Commissioners over them; and a Board over the Commissioners, communicating with and subject to the immediate control of the Government. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial. App. III., No. 4. Minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Other changes were made from time to time in the constitution of the Commissioners of revenue and circuit, and at a considerably later date their duties mostly merged into those of other functionaries.

In the department of civil justice also, essential alterations were contemplated or effected in the system of 1793, the machinery of which, inadequate from the first to accomplish more than a small part of the work it was expected to perform, had undergone almost yearly modifications necessary to remove the grounds of civil controversies, to expedite their adjustment, or to reduce arrears of suits which had nevertheless continued to accumulate. The radical defect of Lord Cornwallis's plan was the almost exclusive agency of European functionaries, in the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the assignment to them of an amount of labour, which no activity or intelligence could overtake; and which, with the increase of property and population, was still further exceeding the means of execution. No addition to the European portion of the judicial establishments, which the public finances might defray, could provide for the deficiency; and it had been repeatedly acknowledged, as we have already seen, both by the local governments, and the home authorities, that the augmented employment of the natives of India was to be looked to as the only efficacious mode of securing the due administration of civil justice. Various measures for this purpose had from time to time been devised, as has already been noticed; and it was estimated, that, in the year 1827, nineteen-twentieths of the original suits

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instituted in the civil courts throughout the country, were already determined by native judicial officers[1]. Instructions from home in the following year directed a still further extension of the arrangement, and the appointment of a superior class of native civil judges, or Sudder Amins, who should be allowed to decide all original suits to the value of 5000 rupees (£500), and to receive appeals from the inferior Amins. These instructions were carried into operation, and a regulation was promulgated[2], by which the powers and emoluments of the native judges were fixed upon a comprehensive and liberal scale, so as to elevate the individuals in their own estimation, and that of their countrymen, and to invest them with the almost entire charge of the administration of civil justice.

The distance of the Presidency from the Western Provinces having been found to deter the natives of the latter from resorting to the Supreme Court of Appeal in Calcutta, and to impair the efficiency of the control intended to be exercised over the judges and magistrates, it was also determined at this time to establish a separate court of Sudder Diwani and Nizamat Adaulat, to be ordinarily stationed at

[1] Minute by Mr. B. Bayley, 10th November, 1829. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial. App. VI.

[2] Regulation V., 1831. The credit of this enactment has sometimes been given exclusively to Lord W. Bentinck; but this is an injustice. That his lordship unreservedly admitted the principle, and zealously carried into practice the employment of respectable natives in the administration of public affairs, is undoubtedly true; but the justice and necessity of the measure had been fully recognised, both in India and in England, long before Lord W. Bentinck's appointment; and the provisions of the Regulation here cited were based, as mentioned in the Regulation, upon the Suggestions and Orders of the Court of Directors, prior to the arrival in India of the actual Governor-General.

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Allahabad, for the superintendence of civil and criminal judicature throughout the Upper Provinces[1]. A similar arrangement was adopted with regard to the Revenue; and a deputation from the Sudder Board of Calcutta was stationed at Allahabad, to exercise exclusive control and direction over the revenue affairs of the Western Provinces, together with the province of Kamaon and the Saugur and Nerbudda territories[2].

In enacting these and other subordinate modifications of the existing judicial and revenue systems in Bengal, the Governor-General had little more to do than to sanction and carry into effective operation measures which had been already well considered and were nearly brought to maturity. In another and more important innovation, he was in a greater degree individually responsible, although the proceedings of his predecessors had long been directed to the same end, and had prepared the way for the consummation now accomplished. This was the abolition of the Suttee[3], or immolation of a widow on the funeral pile of her deceased husband; a barbarous superstition which had prevailed from remote antiquity, and which was sanctioned by texts believed by the Hindus to have been uttered by divine legislators, and having, in their estimation, the weight of law and religion. The sanctity of the rite was, therefore, an article

[3] Regulation VI., 1831.

[4] Regulation X., 1831.

[5] The term Suttee, or Sati, is strictly applicable to the person, not the rite; meaning "a pure and virtuous woman;" and designates the wife who completes a life of uninterrupted conjugal devotedness by the act of Saha-gamana, accompanying her husband's corpse. It has come in common usage to denote the act.

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of Hindu faith, with which, however repugnant to the feelings and creed of the rulers of the country, the tenure by which they held their power rendered them for a long time averse and afraid to interfere. Under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, public officers, although authorised to withhold their consent to the ceremony, should it be applied for, were prohibited from preventing it by any exertion of their official functions. In 1805, a reference was made by Lord Wellesley to the Nizamat Adaulat to ascertain, whether, in the opinion of the judges, the practice might not be authoritatively suppressed; and their reply stated, that they considered the immediate abolition highly inexpedient, although they thought it might be gradually effected, and at no distant period; suggesting at the same time the enactment of provisions for preventing the illegal, unwarrantable and criminal abuses, which were known to occur in the performance of the rite. These suggestions do not appear to have been adopted; and it was not until the beginning of 1813 that any interposition of authority was sanctioned. This was of the most cautious character, being declaredly intended, not so much to put a stop to the rite, as to prevent the gross abuses and irregularities by which it had been rendered more revolting and inhuman, and to enforce those provisions of the strict letter of the Hindu law, which imposed certain restrictions and limitations, calculated, in some degree, to lessen its barbarity and diminish its frequency. In the circular instructions, addressed, on this occasion, to the judicial officers, they were directed to ex-

plain to persons of the Hindu persuasion, that nothing was further from the intention of Government than to infringe any recognized tenet of their religion; and that its only object was, to restrain the use of arts and practices which were not less repugnant to the doctrines of their own faith, than revolting to the general dictates of humanity. With this view, it was ordered that the rite should never take place without previous communication to the magistrate or the principal officer of police, who was to ascertain that it was entirely voluntary; that the widow was not under the influence of stupifying and intoxicating drugs; that she was not under the age of sixteen, and not pregnant; and the police were bound to be present and take care that no intimidation or violence was employed. Besides the positive prevention of unauthorised atrocities, it was expected that the difficulties and checks thus attached to the performance of the rite, would discourage the fanaticism by which it was prompted and indirectly lead to its discontinuance.

The hope of benefit from these measures was disappointed: irregularities and abuses were still perpetrated, and constant violations of the law were committed, particularly with regard to the age and condition of the widow, and the use of forcible means in preventing her from retracting her resolve, or from making her escape from the flames. The practice appeared also to increase in frequency with the activity of the supervision to which it was subjected; and there was reason to apprehend that the regulations devised for its discouragement and suppression, had, by recognising

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its due performance according to the Hindu law, afforded it the countenance and sanction of the Government, and favoured its repetition. This inference was probably erroneous; and the increased number of Suttees, during a part of the time at least for which returns were made, was to be accounted for by the prevalence of unusual mortality, and, throughout the whole period, to greater precision in the police reports. The possibility, however, of such a result, combined with the general and growing abhorrence of the sacrifice, was gradually overcoming the fear of encountering the consequences of more decided interposition; and the abolition of the practice, either universally, or in those provinces where it was of comparatively rare occurrence, had been strenuously urged by several of the Company's most experienced functionaries. The great majority, however, still continued to be too apprehensive of the consequences of prohibition, to coincide in the recommendation; and the Government still leaned to the side of non-interference. It was reserved for Lord William Bentinck to prove the futility of these apprehensions; and to establish the safety, as well as to discharge the duty, of abolishing a practice equally repugnant to the feelings of nature and the laws of civilisation.

Soon after his arrival in India, the Governor-General circulated a confidential letter to a number of the civil and military officers of the Presidency, calling upon them for their opinions with regard to the immediate or gradual abolition of the rite of Suttee, and the consequences which might ensue

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from any interference on the part of the ruling authority, and more particularly as to the impression which such a measure might produce upon the minds of the native soldiery. The replies indicated a considerable variety of sentiment. No difference was entertained as to the barbarous character of the ceremony, and the desirableness of its total abolition ; but whether it could be attempted with success and with safety, gave rise to much diversity of opinion. It was urged against the measure, that the abolition of the rite by the will of the Government was a departure from the principles of toleration hitherto professed, and was an interference with the religion of the Hindus, from which all previous Governments, while equally abhorrent of the practice, had been deterred by the dread of mischievous results[1], and that such consequences were still to be apprehended from its forcible suppression—that, even if an extensive and formidable insurrection should not occur, it was likely that local tumults would take place which could not be allayed without loss of life and widely-extended disaffection, which would shew itself in perpetual attempts to evade or resist the law—would inspire the people with fear and hatred of the Government, and would oppose an indefinite interruption to the progress of improvement which had been commenced within the last few years, and

[1] Thus, in addition to the passages referred to in the text, we have in the correspondence of Earl Amherst the same sentiment expressed—"Nothing but apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice, should induce us to tolerate it for a single day."—Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, 3rd Dec. 1824. Parliamentary Papers, 5th July, 1825.

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had been attended with the most favourable indications of ultimate success—indications which had shewn themselves even in regard to the subject under discussion, as the practice was evidently diminishing, particularly among persons of respectability, without whose encouragement it would gradually fall into disuse; and, finally, that the stability of the British Empire in India might be imperilled, if the native army, composed as it was in a large proportion of Hindus of high caste, should take part with their countrymen in resistance to the measure. In answer to these objections it was maintained, that the rite of concremation was not an essential part of the Hindu religion, as it was not even alluded to by Manu[1], the lawgiver, held in the highest veneration by the Hindus; and that consequently it was no infringement of the principle of toleration to prohibit the continuance: that, even if it could be so regarded, it was not likely to fill the Hindus with any apprehension of the ultimate designs of the Government, as they would ascribe the act to its true motives—feelings of humanity—and would learn, from subsequent proceedings conducted in the spirit which had always influenced the state, to discard any temporary impressions of fear or mistrust. The course which preceding administrations

[1] The texts of Manu, referring to this subject, are as follow:—"A faithful wife, who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him, be he living or dead. Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her husband is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women as have been devoted to one only husband." B. 156—158.

had pursued was, no doubt, to be justified by the reasons by which it was dictated; and, under similar circumstances, would still have to be followed; but the circumstances of native society and the progress of enlightened ideas had now become propitious to more decided legislation. It was possible that some attempts might be made to resist the enforcement of the prohibition, but they were not likely to be frequent or formidable, or beyond the exercise of the civil power; for the great seat of the rite was the province of Bengal,[3] the inhabitants of which were notoriously an unresisting and spiritless race: were the ceremony frequent in the Upper, instead of the Lower Provinces, in the midst of a bold and manly people, the impunity of the prohibition might be less problematical: in the vicinity of Calcutta, such was the want of courage and vigour of character, and such the habitual subserviency of centuries, that insurrection or hostile opposition to the will of the ruling power might be affirmed to be an impossible danger. That although for a time discontent and distrust might disincline the people to accept the amelioration of their moral and intellectual condition benevolently offered by

[3] In 1828—9, of the 463 Suttees which took place, 420 occurred in the lower provinces, or, Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and of these, 287 in the Calcutta division alone. The following is the official return of the Suttees from 1815 to 1828 :—

Divisions.	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828
Calcutta	253	289	442	544	421	370	372	328	340	373	398	324	337	308
Dacca	31	24	52	58	55	51	52	45	40	40	101	65	49	47
Murshedabad	11	22	42	30	25	21	12	22	13	14	21	8	9	10
Patna	20	29	49	57	40	62	69	70	49	42	47	65	55	55
Benares	48	65	103	137	92	103	114	102	121	93	55	48	49	33
Bareilly	15	13	19	13	17	20	15	16	12	10	17	8	18	10
	378	412	707	839	650	597	654	583	575	572	639	518	517	463

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the Government, yet the check, if any were suffered, would be transient, and the disinclination would give way to the expectation of advantage, and to a returning reliance upon the adherence of the Government to the principle of non-interference with religious belief, in all matters in which it was not incompatible with the security of property or person. That it was doubtful how far the decline of the practice could be ascribed to the dissemination of instruction, as little or no change could have yet affected the bulk of the population, and the process of self-conviction must be precarious and remote. The only remaining consideration of sufficient weight to justify hesitation was, therefore, the feeling which the abolition of the rite might excite in the minds of the native soldiery; and on this subject, although several distinguished officers considered it dangerous and unadvisable, yet the majority concurred in opinion that the Hindu Sipahis took little or no interest in the question. In the districts from which they were mostly drawn, the practice was unfrequent; and it still more rarely occurred in cantonments, as the men were not usually accompanied by their wives; the greater number had, therefore, never even witnessed the rite, and felt no personal concern or pride in its perpetuation[1]. Some danger might accrue from the instigations of ill-disposed and intriguing individuals, inimical to British rule; and it might be unsafe to call upon the troops to take any part in enforcing the pro-

[1] It was stated by several officers, that in the course of 30 years' service, they never knew nor heard of a Suttee taking place in the native army.

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hibitory provisions of the law; but as long as these sources of insecurity could be obviated, and as long as the Sipahis felt assured that the Government was determined to respect their religious habits and usages in all essential points, its interference in the case of Suttee would neither alarm their fears, nor rouse their resentment, nor impair in any degree their loyalty and devotion to the service.

Fortified with these opinions, and supported by the concurrence of the members of his council, the Governor-General decided upon abolishing the rite; and in communication with the Nizamat Adawlat enacted and promulgated a regulation[1], by which the practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, was declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts. The Police-officers were authorised to prevent its performance, and to apprehend the principal persons engaged in aiding or abetting it, who should be liable to trial for culpable homicide, and subject to imprisonment and fine. Nothing in the regulation was to preclude the chief criminal court from inflicting capital punishment, according to the circumstances of the case, upon any persons convicted of having used violence or compulsion, or employed stupifying or intoxicating drugs so as to debar a widow from the exercise of her free will, in the event of such a sacrifice taking place in violation of the law. Thus was the question brought to a determination honourable alike to the decision and to the humanity of Lord William Bentinck.

The apprehension which had been entertained of

[1] Regulation XVII., 1829.

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the probable evil consequences of the abolition of the Suttee, and of the violent resentment and tumultuary resistance which it was likely to provoke, were singularly falsified: some few attempts to evade or defy the law were at first tried, and with occasional success; but the vigilance of the police, and the seizure and punishment of the parties principally concerned, evinced the determination of the Government to enforce the prohibition; and the people quietly submitted to the law. Enactments of a similar tendency were promulgated at Madras, and at Bombay; and with the like result as in Bengal[1]. Some feeble efforts were made in Bengal to obtain a reconsideration of the measure; and petitions were presented against it by a number of Hindus, chiefly persons of opulence, both in the interior and in Calcutta. Addresses of a contrary purport, commendatory of the resolution of the Government, were also presented by a respectable body of Hindus, headed by names which have since become well-known in Europe, as those of individuals victorious over the prejudices of their countrymen, by their travels in the regions of the West—Dwarakanath Thakur and Rammohun-

[1] At Madras the Regulation was simply re-enacted: Regulation I., 1830. At Bombay, the direct prohibition was considered unadvisable, as great part of the territory had been but recently annexed to the British possessions. It was, therefore, thought sufficient to rescind, by Regulation XVI., 1830, the exemption from the punishment of culpable homicide, which had been accorded to persons assisting at the rite of self-immolation, by Regulation XIV., 1827. One case of serious resistance occurred in 1835, in a dependency of the Bomoay Presidency, where, upon the death of the Raja, five of his wives were forcibly burned, in defiance of the efforts of the Assistant Political Commissioner to prevent it: although he had a force of 300 men at his command, a still larger body of armed men was assembled, who were not dispersed without loss of life, and the necessity of calling in regular troops.

Roy. As the application to the Governor-General, by the votaries of the ancient superstition, proved unavailing, the petitioners had recourse to the remaining legal source of redress, an appeal to the king in council. Their cause was deliberately and dispassionately argued before the Privy Council, in June 1832; and after hearing the arguments of the appellants, and of the advocates of the Court of Directors, as respondents, the council recommended that the petition should be dismissed; and it was dismissed accordingly[1]. The rejection of the petition was not followed by any excitement: an uneasy and sullen suspicion of the objects and intentions of the British Government continued for a while to pervade a considerable portion of the Hindu population, but it never assumed the form of popular agitation: and the progress of time, and the continued caution with which the British Government has abstained from further interposition, have dissipated any alarm and apprehension that might have been generated by its conduct in the prohibition of the Suttee. Its influence has been even extended to the states of its allies; and various native princes have been induced to proscribe the ceremony within their dominions[2]. They have not been always perhaps very sincere in their zeal for its suppression; but their professed discountenance, and the diffusion of more humane principles and more enlightened ideas, have contributed to check and

[1] See Asiatic Monthly Journal, August 1832, pp. 167, 223.

[2] Annual Reports and Correspondence, printed by order of Parliament, relating to the burning of Hindu widows from July 1821 to March 1830; also printed Statement and Supplement presented on the part of the Court of Directors to the Privy Council.

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restrict the practice; and, except on the death of some chief of high rank, the occurrence of the rite has become a rare event in the annals of Hindustan.

A measure even more unpalatable to the Hindu community, was some while afterwards enacted; but it attracted no notice at the time of its promulgation, as it was mixed up with a variety of provisions, which were mere modifications of the rules extending the powers of the native judicial officers, or supplementary to those previously established, and was worded with some degree of obscurity[1]. By the existing regulations, all questions regarding succession to property were to be decided according to the religion of the parties; the Mohammedan laws forming the general rules by which the judges were to be guided with respect to Mohammedans; Hindu laws, with respect to Hindus[2]. It was now declared, that these rules applied to such persons only as should be *bonâ fide* professors of those religions, at the time of the application of the law to the case, being designed for the protection of the rights of some persons, not for the deprivation of the rights of others. Whenever, therefore, in a civil suit, the parties were of different persuasions, —one being a Mohammedan, the other a Hindu, or one or more being neither Mohammedans nor Hindus, the laws of those religions were not to be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties

[1] Regulation VII. 1832. It is headed, a Regulation for modifying certain of the provisions of Regulation V. 1831, and for providing supplementary rules to that enactment.—Passed by the Vice-President in Council, 16th October, 1832.

[2] Sect. XV., Regulation IV. 1793. Sect. XVI., Regulation III., 1803.

of any property to which, but for the operation of such laws, they would have been entitled. In all such cases, the decision was to be governed by the principles of justice, equity, and good conscience The object of the enactment was, in fact, to bar the operation of the Hindu law, by which a convert to Mohammedanism or Christianity, becoming an outcast, forfeited his claim to the share of any heritable property, to which, as a Hindu, he would have been entitled: a forfeiture contributing powerfully to deprive the Hindus of the free exercise of their judgment, in the adoption of a different creed. It was not until a much later period, that the tendency of this enactment attracted the notice of those who were principally affected by it.

The principal arrangements for the better administration of revenue and justice, which were enacted at this period, especially those which provided for the union of police-duties with the collection of the revenue, and for the extension of the employment of native officers in responsible stations in either department, had been previously introduced at Madras. Little more was there necessary, than to modify existing enactments for the better carrying out of the objects proposed by them, and the adoption of such a re-organisation of establishments, as should provide for the more economical discharge of their duties, without impairing their efficiency[1]. Nothing of any very particular interest

[1] Regulation IV of 1832, following the example of the Bengal Regulation, admitted to judicial employment, in addition to Mohammedans and Hindus, natives of India who were the descendants of Europeans. In 1833, by Regulation III, Sudder Amins were empowered to try criminal cases under the authority of the European or Native

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occurred in the legislative proceedings at this Presidency during the administration of Mr. Lushington and Sir Frederick Adam, by whom the former was succeeded. Neither were any innovations of any magnitude introduced at Bombay, the chief objects of the regulations there passed being to explain and enlarge the provisions of those constituting the code of 1827, to bring within the operation of the existing laws the provinces to which they had not been previously extended, to improve the organisation of the judicial and revenue departments, and to extend the powers of both European and Native functionaries. In the latter respect, the enactments of the Bombay Government were more liberal than those of Bengal, as they assigned no limitation whatever to the value of the property in civil suits brought before the principal native officer[1]. From the end of 1834, the separate legislation of the several Presidencies ceased, under the provisions of the new charter granted to the Company; and acts applicable to the whole were

criminal judges; and the value of the property litigated in civil suits, which might be tried before the same description of officers, and before District Munsiffs, was raised respectively to 3000 and to 1000 rupees. —See also Minute of Mr. Lushington, 14th Sept. 1830, Comm. House of Commons, 1832, General App. III.

[1] Regulation XVIII. of 1831, established three classes of native judicial functionaries: a native judge, a principal native commissioner, and a junior native commissioner: original suits before the first were of unlimited amount; and he was authorised to decide appeals from the native commissioner in property not exceeding the value of 100 rupees. The principal native commissioner was empowered to adjudicate suits to the extent of 10,000 rupees, the junior to that of 5000: the latter being the limit in Bengal of the principal Sudder Amins. —For the modifications of the system at Bombay, see Minute of Sir John Malcolm, 10th Nov. 1830, printed in the Judicial Appendix to the Report of the Comm. of the House of Commons, No. IV.; also Letter of the Calcutta Finance Committee, 20th Sept. 1830, No. III. —General App. Report of Comm. House of Commons, 1832.

thenceforth passed by the Governor-General of India in Council.

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In the early part of the administration of Sir John Malcolm at Bombay, the local government was involved in a discussion with the Supreme Court at the Presidency, which originated in the same lofty conceptions of its powers, and the same contemptuous disregard of the political circumstances of the Indian Government, which had been manifested by the Supreme Court of Bengal, at the period of its first institution. The question of conflicting jurisdiction had been in some respects set at rest by subsequent acts of the British legislature; but there were others in which the language of the statutes was so vague and unprecise, as to afford a foundation for the pretensions of the British judges to extend their authority beyond the limits within which it could alone be exercised compatibly with the interests of the people, and the stability of the Government. At Bengal and Madras, the prolonged existence of the Courts had accustomed the judges to pay some consideration to the relations in which they stood to the state, and although even with them collisions occasionally occurred, yet their general conduct was cautious and conciliatory, and no serious dispute had arisen between them and the local governments. At Bombay, the institution of a Supreme Court was a novelty; and the judges had yet to learn the exact nature of their position. The administration of English law, restricted at Bombay, as well as at the other Presidencies, to the seat of Government, and to British subjects in the provinces, had been for a consider-

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able period entrusted to a single European judge, with the designation of Recorder, whose court had been fully adequate to the adjudication of all the causes which could be brought before it in the legitimate spirit of its institution. As, however, there were courts at Calcutta and Madras presided over by three of His Majesty's judges, the precedent suggested a favourable plea for the extension of ministerial patronage; and without any advertence to the relative circumstances of the Presidencies, their comparative extent of wealth and population, a similarly cumbrous and costly machinery was devised for the administration of English law in Bombay. In 1823, a Supreme Court was accordingly established at Bombay, of which Sir Edward West, who had previously held the office of Recorder, was appointed the Chief Justice in the following year. The effects of the augmented dignity of the new courts were soon exhibited; and cases occurred which, although of no very great importance, clearly evinced a disposition to set aside the local government, and usurp an independent and paramount authority. At the period at which we are arrived, Sir Edward West was associated on the bench with Sir Charles Chambers and Sir John Peter Grant; and he and his colleagues engaged, with more than decorous vehemence, in contests with the Government regarding the extent of their jurisdiction, of which interested individuals in Bombay were not slow to take advantage. One occasion of this kind brought matters to a crisis. A Mahratta youth of wealth and distinction, Moro Raghunath, had been left, upon the decease of his

parents, under the guardianship of his grand-uncle Pandurang Ramchander, a kinsman of the late Peshwa, and an inhabitant of Poona. The relations of his wife, desirous of having charge of Moro Raghunath for purposes of their own, repaired to Bombay; and declaring that the youth was compulsorily detained by his grand-uncle in a state of confinement, by which his life was endangered, obtained from the Supreme Court a writ of Habeas Corpus for the conveyance of the lad to Bombay. The execution of the writ was resisted by the magistrate of Poona with the sanction of the Government, not only because the affidavits on which it was granted were entirely false, but because neither uncle nor nephew had ever resided or possessed property in Bombay by which they could be considered in any degree amenable to the processes of English law; and the jurisdiction of the supreme court did not extend to Poona. The court, although admitting, that, according to the restrictions of the Charter, Pandurang Ramchander and Moro Raghunath might not be subject to its jurisdiction, yet, holding that, as it had been endowed with the powers of the King's Bench, it was bound to watch over and protect the personal liberty of all the king's subjects in India without reference to territorial limitation,[1] persisted in its

[1] According to the Report of the Judgment of Sir C. Chambers, he said:—"Neither Moro Raghunath, the boy in whose favour the writ has been issued, nor Pandurang Ramchander, the person who detains him in custody, are subject to the jurisdiction of the court (according to the declarations of the Charter); and if the court have any authority, it must be founded upon some other principle of a wider and more extensive influence."—Asiatic Journal for April, 1829, p. 491.

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assertion of jurisdiction in this particular case, and repeated its warrant for the production of the person of the boy. At an early stage of the proceedings, Sir Edward West died[1]. Sir C. Chambers died shortly afterwards, previously declaring his determination to uphold the proceedings of the court[2]. The sole management of the case devolved upon the surviving judge, Sir J. Grant. Prior to the death of his colleague, an effort was made by the Government of Bombay to recall the judges to a dispassionate consideration of the mischievous consequences of the course they were pursuing; and an informal, but temperate and respectful, letter was addressed to them by Sir J. Malcolm and the other members of the Council, requesting the court to abstain from acts which must produce a collision between the authorities, until the result of a reference to the Court of Directors should be known; announcing, that in the mean time they had directed, that no returns should be made to any writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to officers of the provincial courts or to any native subjects not residing in the island of Bombay. This letter was not only disregarded, but the sending of it was treated by the judges as a presumptuous and impertinent derogation from their dignity, an unwarrantable attempt to obstruct the independent distribution of justice, and an act both highly unconstitutional and criminal. The letter formed also the subject of a voluminous petition to the Privy Council by Sir John Grant; and

[1] On the 18th August, 1828.

[2] Judgment was pronounced on the 29th of September. Sir C. Chambers died in the middle of October.—Asiatic Monthly Journal for April, 1829, pp. 489, 506.

in the mean time further processes were issued for the bringing of Moro Raghunath to Bombay. The execution of these was resisted by order of the Government, to the extent of placing a native guard at the dwelling of Pandurang Ramchander. An attachment against the person of the guardian was next served through the Government; but, as they persisted in refusing to recognise the power of the court, Sir John Grant thought it incumbent upon him to close the court altogether for a season. This measure drew from the Government a proclamation, declaring its determination to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants of Bombay; and calling upon all classes of the community to give such aid, as would enable it in some degree to alleviate the evils which such a measure was calculated to produce. The Chief Justice replied to this, by denying that the court was closed; and explaining his orders to imply, that the functions of the court were suspended simply, not absolutely as was stated in the proclamation, only for a period, and under a condition which it was within the power of the Governor and Council to fulfil. A reference was at the same time made to the Supreme Government, which, declining to interfere, under the impression that the final decision of the Privy Council would be shortly received in Bombay, Sir John Grant thought it unadvisable to continue the suspension indefinitely; and the proceedings of the court were resumed after an interruption of two months[1]. The determination of the question was not much longer delayed.

[1] From 21st April to the 17th June, 1829.

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Although overwhelmed with a cloud of words, and obscured by a laboured display of legal learning, the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Bombay, as was confessed by both the judges, were based mainly on two grounds, the powers of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, and the delegation of the like powers to the Supreme Court of Bombay. According to the dicta of the judges, the Court of King's Bench was empowered, on behalf of the Crown, to issue mandatory or high prerogative writs to all and every one of the subjects of the Crown wherever they might be, even although they should be resident in foreign countries. The writ of Habeas Corpus was a writ of this description, having no reference to suits between party and party, which was the proper interpretation of the term jurisdiction; but, being of universal and irresistible application for the protection of the King's subjects—for "the King ought to have an account why any of his subjects are imprisoned; and it is agreeable to all persons and places, and no answer can satisfy it except the return, *cum causa*, of the reason of the detention, and the *paratum habeo corpus*, the production of the person detained." The Court of King's Bench was entrusted with the power of issuing such writs, because it was always considered the King's Supreme Court of Justice for the exercise of his prerogative. Inasmuch, therefore, as the people of India were, according to the principles of the constitution, to be regarded as the subjects of the King, they were, without any exemption or exception, amenable to his authority, as administered by the Judges of his Court. There

was not a native of India resident within the dominions over which the East India Company was permitted to hold temporary rule (but which were in law and fact dominions of the Crown), to whom a high prerogative writ, such as the Habeas Corpus, might not be issued, and who was not bound at once, and without reservation to obey it.

As, however, the remoteness of the two countries rendered it inconvenient for the Court of King's Bench sitting at Westminster to be applied to on every occasion on which the liberty of the subject might be endangered, it had become necessary that the same high trust should be exercised by delegation; and such vicarious powers were conferred upon His Majesty's Courts at all the Indian Presidencies. This was a totally different thing from the question of jurisdiction; which was merely a power given to the Court, within certain local limits, to determine the rights of parties in adverse suits, according to the laws prevailing within those limits, and to award compensation for any wrong or injury that had been committed by one party against the other. Under such limitations, the court could not be empowered to issue a prerogative process; but that such was not the intention of the Charter, was evident, from its further provisions and the specification which constituted the Court the representative in India of the Court of King's Bench, and gave to the Judges, individually and collectively, throughout the territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay, all the authority which the Judges of the Court of King's Bench had within the limits of England—meaning, in fact, that they should have the same

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power of watching over and securing the liberty of the subjects of the Crown, without any distinction of colour or religion, as the Judges in England possessed with respect to the European subjects of the realm. It was not, therefore, an unwarranted stretch of jurisdiction in the technical sense of the term, which induced the Judges to issue the orders to a Mahratta chief, resident at Poona and out of their jurisdiction as far as regarded a writ at common law, but the fulfilment of their obligations, as the representatives of Majesty, and the exercise of that sovereign power, which was the undoubted privilege and prerogative of the Crown.

That the wording of the Charter, and the absence of any clear definition as to the meaning of the designation "British Subjects", furnished a plea for the pretensions of the Court, could scarcely be denied; but at the same time there can be no reasonable doubt of the intention of the Legislature, which, without compromising the rights of the Crown to territory conquered by its subjects, had invested the Company with the sovereign authority over the natives of India, in the obvious meaning of that denomination. In restricting the jurisdiction of the English Courts to the Presidencies, and to British-born subjects in the Provinces, it had never purposed to confine the term to the technical application given to it by the Judges of the Court of Bombay, and to sanction processes —which, whatever their origin, had the effect of bringing persons before the Court, who, even by the admission of the Bench, were not amenable to its judgment as plaintiffs or defendants. By

restricting the authority of the Courts to certain specified persons in the provinces, the exemption of all others was necessarily implied, and it was placed beyond all doubt by the sanction which the Supreme Legislature had given to the local governments, to appoint judges, and institute courts, and devise processes, and originate laws for all those who were not amenable to the King's Courts. If the power of the King's Bench had been delegated to the English Courts in India, the powers of the Sovereign had been also delegated, with certain exceptions, to the Indian Government, subject alone to the authority of the Supreme Legislature, the Parliament, and the Crown; and in their place, in all that concerned the natives of India beyond assigned limits, they were reigning supreme over all the Courts of Judicature whatever. One advantage of these disputes was the determination of the question. The petition of Sir John Grant to the Privy Council, and the arguments of his advocates, exhausted all that could be urged in defence of the Court of Bombay, to no avail; the judgment of the Council, confirmed by the King, pronounced the Judges to be in error, and decided that the writs of Habeas Corpus were improperly issued; and that the Supreme Court of Bombay had no power or authority to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus, except when directed either to a person resident within those local limits wherein such Court had a general jurisdiction; or to a person out of such local limits, who was personally subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.[1] The decision

[1] It has not been thought necessary to detail the circumstances of

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was received by the natives of the provinces, under the Bombay Presidency, with universal satisfaction; although, in Bombay itself, a different feeling seems to have prevailed[1].

The discussions at Bombay, and questions of a similar nature, but investigated in a very different spirit, induced the Government of Bengal, in communication with the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, to take into consideration the means of securing the co-operation of the two authorities in framing laws for the administration of justice, and preventing the recurrence of conflicting jurisdiction.

another case, in which the Court issued a writ of Habeas Corpus to compel the keeper of the gaol at Thanna to produce the person of a prisoner detained under an order of one of the Company's Judges; but as this formed one subject of the inquiry, the case was provided for by the two following decrees of His Majesty in Council: "The Supreme Court has no power or authority to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus to the gaoler or officer of a Native (Company's) Court, as such officer, the Supreme Court having no power to discharge persons imprisoned under the authority of a Native Court"; and "the Supreme Court is bound to notice the jurisdiction of the Native Court without having the same specially set forth in the return to a writ of Habeas Corpus."—As. Monthly Journal, July, 1829, p. 124.

[1] In an address to the Governor from the natives of Poona, referring to an address from the natives of Bombay to Sir J. P. Grant, in which it had been asserted that the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to the provinces would be gratifying to the whole population, they declare "that they have received the intelligence with dismay and grief;" and, referring to the transaction which had given rise to the discussions, observe, "Last year when a process was issued against Pandurang Ramchander Dhamdhari, a representation of our fears of the infringement of our privileges was made to the Government. The Government was pleased to answer us by an assurance that our fears were groundless; and the subsequent measures which saved the honour of the house of the Dhamdhari, inspired the community with confidence"—and they conclude by "imploring the Government to lose no time in transmitting to the home authorities their prayer, that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Bombay will not be extended to their province"; signed by two thousand persons, including all the principal chiefs. There can be no doubt that this was the genuine expression of the sentiments of the native population everywhere beyond the limits of Bombay. Asiatic Monthly Journal, Feb. 1831, p. 80. See also Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 1st Sept. 1831.

In the actual state of the law there were many and obvious defects, which the prospective alterations in the relations between Great Britain and India were likely to render still more embarrassing; for which anticipatory remedies could not be provided, and which could not be at all times conveniently referred to the only authority competent to correct them—the Parliament of Great Britain. It was, therefore, concluded by the Government, that it was a matter of urgent expediency to have in India a person or persons legally competent to legislate for all classes and all places subject to the political rule of the Company. The only elements for such a legislature, available in India, were the two supreme authorities of the Company, and the crown; and it was proposed, therefore, to recommend that the members of the Supreme Government, and the judges of the Supreme Courts of Calcutta, should be constituted a Legislative Council, with power to enact laws for the guidance of all courts, whether established by the king, or by the local government, within the territories of the East India Company, and for the regulation of the rights and obligations of all persons subject to their authority[1]. The necessity of a legislative council was fully recognised by the judges; but the nature and extent of its powers, and the members of whom it should consist, were questions of greater perplexity.

[1] Letter from the Governor-General in council to the Honourable Sir Charles E. Grey, Sir John Franks, and Sir Edward Ryan, judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, 14th July, 1829. —Comm. H. of Commons, 1831. Third Report, Appendix, No. V. For striking instances of the encroachments of the Courts at all three Presidencies, see Minute of Sir C. Metcalfe, 25th April, 1829, in the same Appendix.

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That it should legislate for all persons within the territories subject to the British power, was the main object of its formation; but as those persons belonged to a variety of races, professing different religions, observing different institutions, and existing in various conditions of society, it was evident that one common system was utterly inapplicable to them all; and that legislation for their benefit must be founded on different and not unfrequently discordant principles, keeping also in view the subordination of the council to the Government of Great Britain, and the necessity of conforming to the spirit of the laws in force in the paramount country. A still more embarrassing question was the composition of the council—of whom should it consist? The members of the Government would, of course, retain at least a principal voice in the passing of laws affecting the numerous population with whose interests they were charged, and of whose wants and wishes they were likely to be best informed. The Judges of the Supreme Court would bring to the council the weight of their authority and the knowledge of those national laws, which an influential although limited number of individuals in India claimed as their birth-right, and which the prejudices of the British public would render it dangerous to set aside. At the same time the association of the legislative and judicial power was open to obvious objection, as the judges might be expected to administer, with an unfair and partial bias, the laws which they themselves had enacted. The accession of members drawn from other classes, however desirable, as likely to furnish individuals most cognisant of the

provisions required for the interests of the people, was inexpedient, as involving a character of representative government, to which the circumstances of the country were wholly unfitted. The servants of the company could not be expected to exercise independent judgment; and their experience was already available to the government. The other portions of the European community were too insignificant in number and information, and too little identified with a country with which they had only a temporary and self-interested connection, to be of any weight in devising laws for the whole of India: and the only class of individuals who could be contemplated as the legitimate representatives of the people, were natives, of wealth and respectability. Their admission, however, would be too wide and sudden a departure from the political principles which had hitherto prevailed; and the constitution of the legislative council, in the opinion of the Government and of the Judges, was, for the present, at least, to be limited to those two authorities, with such additional person or persons as should be appointed by the Crown. A recommendation to this effect, and the draft of a Bill to carry it into operation, were transmitted to England[1]. The proposed combination of the supreme executive and judicial bodies was there disapproved of; but the power to legislate for all persons, whether British or native; and for all Courts of Justice, whether established by Royal Charter or otherwise; and for all places and things soever throughout the

[1] Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, 14th October, 1830. Ibid. Appendix, V., No. 25.

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territories subject to the Company's government, was granted by the renewed charter to the Governor-General in Council, with the aid of an additional member of Council, appointed by the Court of Directors from among other persons than their servants, subject to the confirmation of the King; such additional member not to be entitled to sit and vote in Council, except at meetings thereof for making laws and regulations. The Court of Directors was authorised to repeal any acts and regulations so made; and nothing in the enactment was to bar the controlling and legislative powers of the Parliament. In India, however, the enactments of the Council were to have the force of Acts of Parliament, and to be similarly obeyed. These provisions armed the Government with an arbitrary power, which, however foreign to the British constitution, was suited to the political circumstances of India, and which was little liable to abuse, as long as the control of the home authorities was vigilant and effective.

The greater part of these important measures were either accomplished or brought into an advanced state of progress within the two first years of Lord William Bentinck's administration. At the end of that period, the Governor-General determined to make a protracted stay in the Upper Provinces, having previously, on two different occasions, paid brief visits to some of those most readily accessible from Calcutta[1]. Besides the con-

[1] In January, 1829, Lord W. Bentinck visited the Bengal provinces of Purneah, Rungpore, and Dinagepore; and in the first three months of 1830, Behar, Benares, and Goruckpore; returning through Tirhut.

venience of communicating more readily with the several native states in alliance with the British Government, a principal object of the journey was the conclusion of some definite arrangement for the settlement of the revenue of the Western Provinces upon a more permanent footing than had yet been established. Arrangements which had been adopted ten years before for the determination of the preliminary steps taken for the ascertainment of the capabilities of the land, and the rights of occupants, had still to be carried into effect. Little or no progress had been made. In many of the districts, no settlements had been concluded; in those in which some few villages had been settled, scarcely any had been confirmed; and, in the greater number, periods, varying from twenty years to something less than a century, were spoken of as necessary for the termination of the task. This failure was ascribed partly to the want of precise instructions for the guidance of the collectors; partly to the infinite number and minuteness of the details to be investigated; but partly also to the laborious and distasteful character of the duty, inspiring a marked disinclination to carry it on in many of the functionaries charged with its performance[1]. To give a fresh impulse to the inquiry, and determine by what means a satisfactory settlement might be accomplished within a reasonable period, were the especial objects of the Governor-General's communications with the

[1] Letter from Governor-General to Sudder Board of Revenue on Deputation, par. 70.—Report Comm. House of Commons, 1832, Revenue, Appendix III., No. 82.

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by the collector or his assistant, through the instrumentality of Panchayats chosen from the inhabitants. The exact limits and dimensions of the village being thus determined, the amount of the assessment and the ascertainment of the parties by whom it was to be paid, devolved on the collector, by whom disputed claims, of more than one year's standing, were reserved for future adjudication. In fixing the amount of the assessment, reference was not had, as previously proposed, to tables of the kinds of produce and their fluctuating prices; but to a comparison with the past assessments of the same district, or of others of like extent and situation; to a general consideration of the circumstances and capability of the land; and to a free and public communication with all who claimed an interest in the decision. The respective rights of individuals were ascertained and recorded; and engagements entered into with them personally, or with representatives chosen by themselves, according to the tenures by which they held, and under which they were separately or jointly responsible for the amount of the public revenue. In place of the brief intervals hitherto adopted, the assessment was settled for a term which was finally extended to thirty years[1]. Subsidiary to these measures, a regulation was enacted to provide for the more speedy determination of judicial questions cognisable by the revenue officers employed in making settlements; and to authorise them to have re-

[1] Minute of Lord W. Bentinck, 26th of September, 1832. Simla. Circular Instructions of the Revenue Board, Western Provinces. September, 1833.

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course to arbitration, at their discretion; and to enforce the award of the Panchayats, from which no appeal was allowed. The village accountants who had manifested a great reluctance to produce authentic accounts, were compelled by the same enactment to furnish them regularly to the collector; and in order to strengthen the establishments of the fisc, deputy collectors were appointed, who might be selected from the natives of India, of any class or religious persuasion[1]. Under this enactment, the instructions furnished to the revenue and survey officers, and the spirit infused into the whole system by the example and encouragement of the Governor-General, the work received an impulse which carried it briskly forward. The torpor which had hung over the preceding ten years was dissipated; and in the course of an equal period, the revenue settlement of the Western Provinces was completed upon principles equally conducive to the improving resources of the state and the growing prosperity and happiness of the people[2].

[1] Regulation IX., 1833.

[2] Reports have been printed of the settlements of different portions, conveying a great mass of curious and important information. To that upon the settlement of Azimgerh we have already had occasion to refer. vol. i. p. 425. This was concluded in December, 1837. There are others for Agra, Cawnpore, Mynpuri, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, Etawa, etc., completed, for the most part, about 1840-41. A particular and authentic description of the whole settlement-process is given in a periodical work published at Meerut, the Meerut Universal Magazine, vol iv. No. 16. The communication between the collector and the cultivators is highly characteristic. See App. IV. The results of the arrangement are published in the Journal of the Statistical Society, by Col. Sykes, from official documents. The total revenue of the North-west Provinces in 1816-7, was Rupees 4.03.91.527, or about four millions sterling, being an increase on that of 1815 of 1,200,000*l.*, while its pressure upon the cultivators is shown to be exceedingly light, amounting to little more than two Rupees, or about four shillings per head per annum.—Journal of the Statistical Society of London, vol. x., p. 243.

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Little progress was made in the general improvement of criminal law and police; but a very important boon was conferred upon extensive portions of the Company's territory, and the adjacent countries, by the active and efficacious measures which were pursued for the extirpation of the numerous and formidable gangs of depredators, known by the name of Thugs. These miscreants, robbers, and murderers, by hereditary descent, were numerously scattered through Central India, following ostensibly the peaceful avocations of agriculture or trade, but subsisting chiefly by the booty obtained from their victims, whom they invariably put to death by strangulation,[1] before they rifled them. Quitting their homes in bands more or less numerous, according to the object of the expedition, and travelling sometimes to a considerable distance, it was their practice to fall in, as if by accident, with the persons whom they purposed to destroy; and by a pretended similarity of destination as merchants, travellers, or pilgrims, become companions of their way—winning their confidence by cheerful and conciliatory manners, and by simulating the like apprehensions of the dangers of the road. On arriving at a place favourable for the safe execution of their project, a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban was suddenly thrown round the neck of the victim, the ends of which were crossed and drawn tight by some of the party, while others secured the feet and hands, until life was

[1] The term Thug properly denotes "a cheat." In some parts of India these people are known by the more appropriate designation of Phansi-gar, the bearer of a noose "phansi," with which they strangle.

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The practice of committing murder, in the mode pursued by the Thugs, was common to a number of associations, who, although composed of persons of different religions and castes, and inhabiting very distant parts of India, were identified as a confederacy of criminality, and were known to each other, wherever they met, by a system of secret signs, and a peculiar conventional dialect. The members of each gang were taught from their earliest youth, to consider the commission of murder by means of the noose as their hereditary calling, and to regard themselves as the mere instruments of destiny, whose irresistible will was to be necessarily accomplished by them, and exempted them from all responsibility. The boy was at first employed as a scout, and not permitted to witness the proceedings of his seniors; as he grew older, he was

allowed to see and handle the corpse of the victim, and assist in the interment; and when he attained manhood, and displayed adequate strength and resolution, he was intrusted with what had then become to him an object of ambition, the application of the noose. Previous to the murder, he went through a form of mysterious initiation by one of the elders whom he chose for his Guru or spiritual guide. The influence of education and example were thus confirmed by a solemn rite; and the Thug proceeded in his career with no feelings of compunction or remorse. Nor was he, in general, in other respects cruel or sanguinary. He looked upon the plunder of travellers as his professional avocation, and their murder as the necessary condition of his own security—sanctioned by divine indications, and the approbation of his tutelary divinity.[1]

Many of the Thugs, in all parts of India, were Mohammedans; but being wholly ignorant of the principles of the Koran, and having admitted Hindu castes into the confederacy, they had borrowed from their associates many of the superstitious notions of degenērate Hinduism, and the especial veneration of Devi, Durga, or Bhavani, the bride of Siva,

[1] "A Thug leader, of most polished manners and great eloquence, being asked one day, in my presence, by a native gentleman, whether he never felt compunction in murdering innocent people, replied with a smile 'Does any man feel compunction in following his trade, and are not all our trades assigned us by Providence?' The native gentleman said—'How many people have you killed with your own hands in the course of your life?' 'I have killed none.' 'Have you not just been describing to me a number of murders?" 'Yes, but do you suppose I could have committed them? Is any man killed from man's killing? Is it not the hand of God that kills him, and are we not instruments in the hand of God?'"—Sleeman, Ramsiana, voce Bhurtote. The doctrine is genuine Hinduism, understanding by the term God—Time or Destiny—or, rather, the inevitable consequences of pre-existence manifested in a present life, which is what the Hindus mean by destiny.

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under one or other of those terrific forms which, according to the Pauranic legends, she assumed for the destruction of malevolent spirits, but in which she is now held by popular credulity to be the particular patroness of all vagabonds, and thieves, and murderers. In common with Hindus of all classes, the Thugs attached great significance to signs and omens; the appearance of birds, beasts, or reptiles, the cries they uttered, the direction in which they accompanied or crossed the path—and similar accidents which they, however, were singular in ascribing to the immediate influence of Devi, and interpreting as indications of her pleasure with regard to the prosecution of their enterprises. The omens were so numerous, that a right knowledge of them was difficult to be acquired; and to a mistaken interpretation the Thugs ascribed any disappointment or calamity that might befall them. Besides observing the usual Hindu festivals of which Durga or Kali is the presiding goddess, and occasionally presenting offerings at her most celebrated temples[1], the priests of which were sometimes connected with the gangs, the Thugs solemnised special feasts in her honour, and presented to her goats, rice, fruits, and spirits; and after every murder it was their invariable custom to offer to her, with due ceremony, a piece of silver and a quantity of molasses, of which latter those only of the party who had previously applied the

[1] Especially at Kalighat, at Calcutta, and Vindhya-vasini, near Mirzapur. The latter is the favorite resort of all the miscreants of the western provinces. It was visited by the author, in 1820, and presented an extraordinary assemblage of most atrocious-looking vagabonds.

fatal noose, were permitted to participate. The credulity with which the Thugs trusted in the peculiar favour of the goddess was unbounded; and to her displeasure were attributed the apprehension and punishment of their leaders by the officers of the British Government.

According to their own traditions, the different clans of Thugs sprang originally from seven tribes, who were all of the Mohammedan faith, in the vicinity of Delhi. They were dislodged from their haunts as recently as the seventeenth century, and had since spread throughout central India, and penetrated to the Dekhin. The majority are still Mohammedans; but there are also among them low caste Hindus, and it is obvious that the former have borrowed their superstitions from the latter. The employment of the noose as an offensive weapon in war, and an instrument of punishment in peace, is of remote antiquity, and was common among both the ancient Persians and the Hindus[1]. The existence of a set of murderers by whom it was used, was known to early travellers in India. As results from the tradition of their

[1] A tribe, that of the Sagartii, is noticed by Herodotus, as using the noose in battle, and the use continued to be familiar to the Persians to the 10th century, as it is frequently made mention of by Firdausi, as—"He threw the well-twisted Kamand (noose or lasso) and bound them fast upon the spot"; and "when the kamand was cast from the hand of Rustam, the diademed head was caught in the coil." The Pasa, or noose, although most appropriate to the Hindu divinity of the ocean, Varuna, is borne by several others, as by Yama, the regent of death, by Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa, and the goddess Devi; it also appears as an implement of war among the mystical weapons, with which Rama was equipped by Viswamitra—"I give thee the noose of Dharma, and also the noose-weapon of Kala, difficult to be resisted—and likewise the highly-venerated noose of Varuna."—Ramayana, Book i., chap. 30. The existence in India of robbers who murdered by strangling is mentioned by Tavernier.

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dispersion, the native princes sometimes inflicted on them the punishment they deserved, but the subordinate chiefs and the officers of the states of Western India, commonly connived at their crimes, and allowed them to settle within their jurisdiction, in consideration of sharing in their spoils, and on condition that they should not follow their nefarious practices in the districts which they inhabited. With the transfer of the country to the British Government, and the extension of its influence, there was an end of connivance; and as soon as the nature of their organisation was understood, active measures were instituted against the Thugs. In the Mysore country, many were apprehended as early as 1799; and in 1807, others were secured and punished, in the district of Chitur. The territories obtained from the Nawab Vizir, were found to swarm with these and other murderous bands, and many individuals were brought before the Courts of criminal justice, by which a considerable number were sentenced to imprisonment or death, and the gangs were, in consequence, much reduced in strength; and many were intimidated into emigration from the Company's districts. The anarchy that prevailed in Malwa and Rajputana, attracted them to that quarter; and the restoration of order slowly and imperfectly attained, afforded them for a while a rich field for their atrocious depredations. The active pursuit of the Company's Government followed upon their footsteps. The services of the Gwalior contingent horse were directed against them by order of the Marquis of Hastings, although probably with little benefit.

In 1820, a large gang was apprehended in the valley of the Nerbudda by General Adams. In 1823, a still larger body, amounting to one hundred and fifteen, was arrested by Mr. Molony, in the same valley, on their return from the Dekhin; and a numerous gang was secured in the same locality by Major Wardlaw. In the two last instances, the prisoners were convicted; in the first, they escaped; and, in the trials before the judges in the provinces where the regulations prevailed, the forms of the criminal courts, and the provisions of the Mohammedan law, were too often favourable to the acquittal of the culprits. Although checked, therefore, the crime was nowhere extirpated; and the Thugs, protected by the corruption of the petty landholders, and native revenue and police officers, and by the reluctance of the natives to appear as accusers before the Company's courts, continued for a season to pursue their murderous practices with comparative impunity. In 1829, arrangements were made under the orders of the Government for their more effectual suppression, particularly in the Saugar and Nerbudda territories, where they most abounded. The Political Commissioner, in charge of the districts, Mr. F. C. Smith, who, in his judicial capacity, had manifested great activity and vigour in bringing these malefactors to punishment, was invested with full powers to subject the Thugs who were apprehended, to summary trial and conviction upon the evidence of accomplices; and an officer equally distinguished for his successful exertions and familiarity with the duty, Major Sleeman, was appointed under him commissioner for the suppression of the

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crime, having the especial duty of superintending the operations of the arrest of the Thug gangs, and collecting the evidence for the cases in which they were to be committed for trial. At a subsequent date[1], several other officers were charged with a similar superintendence, in subordination to the General Superintendent, for conducting the operations south of the Nerbudda, those between the Ganges and the Jumna, and those in Rajputana, Malwa, and the Delhi territories, or in communication and under the orders of the Residents at Hyderabad and Lucknow. Such were the efficiency of the system, and the activity of the superintendents, supported by the concurrent exertions of the political functionaries in Hindustan, that, in the course of six years, from 1830 to 1835, two thousand Thugs had been arrested and tried at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugar, and Jubbulpore, of whom about fifteen hundred were convicted and sentenced either to death, transportation, or imprisonment. Many died in confinement: a number were pardoned in consideration of the value of their evidence, but their character with their confederates was destroyed; and the consequence was, the reduction of the gangs to a few scattered and intimidated individuals who had contrived to elude the pursuit of justice. That the crime is wholly extirpated, is scarcely to be hoped; but its commission has become infrequent; and peaceable travellers and traders have of late years pursued their way along the roads of Central India, without dread of falling

[1] Resolution of the Government of India, Jan. 7, 1835.—Monthly Asiatic Journal, from the Government Gazette, vol. 17, 124.

a prey to the insidious arts and murderous practices of men more merciless and destructive than the savage denizens of the adjacent forests.[1]

The efforts made in the territories more favourably circumstanced, to promote the advance of useful knowledge, received from the Governor-General the most solicitous encouragement; and considerable progress was made under his auspices, in the multiplication of educational establishments, and the cultivation of the English language and literature. English classes or seminaries were instituted at several of the principal stations in the Upper Provinces, as well as in Bengal; while at the same time the system of native study pursued at the colleges exclusively appropriated to the education of Hindus and Mohammedans, was diligently superintended and improved, and was in the course of being rendered co-operative in the dissemination of sound knowledge, by providing instructors qualified to enrich their own literature through the medium of translations from the English language. Influenced, however, by the examples of extraordinary progress in English made at Calcutta, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, and

[1] Most of the chief peculiarities of these gangs were described several years ago by Dr. Sherwood of the Madras service, by whom an article "On the Murderers called Phansigars" was published in the 13th volume of the Asiatic Researches, Calcutta, 1820. A supplementary notice of the Thugs, and other predatory clans in the Ceded Provinces, was extracted from the official report of the Superintendent of Police for the Western Provinces, dated in 1816. The latest authentic information is furnished by Colonel Sleeman in his Ramasiana; or, Vocabulary of the Slang Dialect of the Thugs: with an Introduction and Appendix descriptive of their practices, and containing reports of proceedings on their trials. Calcutta, 1836. And in his Report on the Depredations of the Thug Gangs from 1836-7 to 1839. Calcutta, 1840.

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misled by advisers, who had no knowledge of India, or its people, beyond a limited intercourse with the anglicised portion of the inhabitants of the metropolis, Lord W. Bentinck, shortly before his departure, adopted the notion that English might be made the sole channel of instruction; and resolved, that all the funds appropriated to the purposes of education should be employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language alone[2]. In order to carry this resolution into effect, the endowments heretofore granted to the students of the native colleges were to be resumed, and the colleges themselves were to be abolished upon the diminution of the number of the students, which was effectually provided for by depriving them of their principal and often only means of prosecuting their studies. In this exclusive encouragement of the study of English, the circumstances of the great body of the people were wholly disregarded. In Calcutta, where a considerable portion of the more respectable inhabitants were in constant and intimate association with Englishmen of every degree, and where numbers found employment in public or private offices, there were both an extensive want of the language and abundant facilities and ample leisure for its acquirement. Beyond Calcutta the accomplishment was of no practical usefulness, and no inducement existed to engage in a necessarily long and arduous course of study. It was, therefore, evidently im-

[2] Resolution of Government, 7th March, 1835. Appendix, Report of Committee of Public Instruction for 1835. Calcutta, 1836.

possible that it should be cultivated to any extent; and all attempts to introduce it universally, could be attended with but imperfect success. The great truth was also overlooked, that a national literature can only co-exist with a national language; and that as long as knowledge is restricted to a foreign garb, it can be the property only of the few who can command leisure and opportunity for its attainment. It was obvious that a language so difficult as English, and so utterly discordant with every Indian dialect, could never become the universal medium of instruction; and that, even if it should be extensively studied, which, beyond certain narrow limits, was highly improbable, it would constitute the literature of a class—never that of the people. The means of improving the spoken dialects, and fitting them to become the vehicles of sound instruction, were at hand in the languages considered classical by Hindus and Mohammedans, the Sanscrit and Arabic, and through them an easy passage might be found for the infusion of European thought into vernacular expression; but whether they were to be employed as had previously been done in accomplishing the object, or whether it might be more expedient to attempt the literary use of the spoken languages at once, it was undeniable that the exclusive encouragement of English was unjust to the native literary classes, and was of no benefit to the bulk of the population. The better judgment of Lord W. Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, while it gave the most liberal encouragement to the extension of English study, rescued the native colleges from the mis-

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appropriation of the funds specially assigned to them; and by a liberal distribution of scholarships to all the seminaries alike, remedied, in some degree, the discontinuance of the subsistence-allowances, on which most of the students, like the poor scholars of the middle ages in Europe, had been accustomed, under all previous rule, Hindu, Mohammedan, or Christian, to depend[1].

A new and important era in the communication between the East and West, dates from the period of Lord W. Bentinck's administration; when the powers of steam were first applied to contract the interval which divides Great Britain from British India. The result of the first trial, in which a vessel, the Enterprise, depending partly upon steam and partly upon sails, followed the usual route round the Cape of Good Hope, was not encouraging, as little saving of time was effected[2]. An attempt was made to open a route by the Euphrates, and thence down the Persian Gulf to Bombay; but this was undertaken upon most inaccurate views of the capabilities of the river, and the lawless condition of the Arab tribes upon its borders. The project, after an unprofitable expenditure of time and money, was not persisted in. The more feasible route was soon ascertained to be that by the Red Sea, from

[1] Minute of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, Nov. 24th, 1839. App. Report General Committee of Public Instruction, 1839-1840. The latest reports from the North-Western Provinces show, that the demand for the English language is extremely limited; while that for useful knowledge, diffused through numerous publications in the spoken languages, is rapidly augmenting.

[2] The Enterprise sailed from Falmouth on the 16th of August, 1825, and arrived at Diamond Harbour, 7th December; having been, therefore, more than three months on the voyage.

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the several Presidencies to Suez, and across the isthmus to Alexandria. The first voyage was made by the Hugh Lindsay from Bombay, which she left on the 20th of March, 1830. She arrived at Suez on the 22nd of April; being thirty-two days on the passage. In her next voyage, in December of the same year, the time was diminished to twenty-two days. Subsequently other voyages succeeded, which established the practicability of the route, the possibility of navigating the Red Sea throughout the year, and the probability of accelerated despatch[1]. It only remained, therefore, to complete the line of communication, by providing for the voyage between Egypt and England; and this was accomplished by arrangements concluded between the East India Company and his Majesty's Government, upon the recommendation of a select committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1834 to investigate the subject. Those arrangements have since been perfected; and the communication between regions separated by a fourth of the circumference of the globe, requires now a smaller number of weeks than it formerly did of months for its accomplishment[2].

[1] In 1836, the Government of Bombay congratulates the Court upon the arrival of despatches from London in fifty-eight, forty-five, and sixty-four days. Report of Committee, 1837. Statement of Sir J. Hobhouse. Later years have witnessed their conveyance in half the time.

[2] Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons on Steam Communications with India, 1834 and 1837. Lord W. Bentinck presided on the latter occasion, and was examined as a witness. It may be doubted if the advantages he so sanguinely anticipated have been, or ever will be, realised. "It is," he observes, "through the means of a quite safe and frequent communication between all India and England, that the natives of India in person will be enabled to bring their complaints and grievances before the authorities and the country; that large numbers of disinterested travellers will have it in their

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The augmentation of the commerce of British India, which had at first ensued upon the removal of all restrictions upon private trade, had not latterly indicated any disposition to advance; and the value of both exports and imports in the last year of Lord W. Bentinck's government, fell considerably short of that of the first year of his predecessor's administration[1]. This was partly ascribable to the reduced prices of the principal articles of the commerce with Great Britain, particularly cotton goods, in which a larger quantity represented a smaller sum. It was partly owing also to the shock which credit received in the beginning of 1833, when all the oldest established commercial houses in Calcutta became suddenly insolvent to an enormous extent. These firms, not more than five in number, had been settled for more than half a century in Bengal, and, under the wing of the East India Company's monopoly, had appropriated almost exclusively that portion of the trade with the countries of the East, or with the United Kingdom, which the Company relinquished to private enterprise. Under this

power to report to their country at home, the nature and circumstances of this distant portion of the empire. The result, I hope, will be to rouse the shameful apathy and indifference of Great Britain to the concerns of India; and by thus bringing the eye of the British public to bear upon India, it may be hoped that the desired amelioration may be accomplished." Report, Steam Committee of House of Commons, p. 190.

[1] The value of the trade of the three Presidencies at the several periods was as follows:—

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1822-3 - -	£8,600,000	10,690,000	19,290,000
1834-5 - -	7,654,000	9,675,000	17,329,000
Less - -	£946,000	1,015,000	1,961,000

MSS. Returns.

system they enjoyed security and prosperity, and the unbounded confidence of both natives and Europeans. With the usual short-sightedness of commercial insatiability, they nevertheless joined in the clamour against the East India Company's exclusive privileges, and contributed essentially to their abolition. But with the opening of the trade, started up a host of competitors, diverting no inconsiderable portion of their profits, and provoking them to emulative and fatal speculation. The consequences were their downfall; the ruin of thousands whom their long-recognised stability had tempted to entrust them with their fortunes; and a check to the commercial prosperity of Calcutta, and an injury to its mercantile credit from which it was slow to recover. The mischief was, in some degree, aggravated by the financial measures of the Government.

Encouraged by the success which had attended the reduction of the rates of interest from the higher proportions which had previously prevailed, to the more moderate rate of five per cent, and being in possession of a superabundance of cash, the Government of Bengal made an attempt, in 1824, about the beginning of the Burma war, to carry the reduction still further, and opened a loan at four per cent. per annum. It was soon found, however, that the growing wants of the state were not likely to be supplied on terms so inferior to the market-value of money; and in the following year, the rate of five per cent was reverted to, with the permission to holders of the four per cent securities to transfer them to the new loan. The interest

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was also made payable by bills on Europe, and above ten millions were readily raised upon these conditions. After the close of the Burma war, and the intermission of the heavy demands on the treasury, the attempt to force the rate of four per cent upon the public creditors was repeated in 1828-9, but was equally unsuccessful. In the year ensuing, five per cent was the rate offered upon a new loan; but this was also a failure, as the interest was made payable only in cash, and no part of it realisable by bills on the Court in favour of residents in Europe. As the larger proportion of the creditors consisted of the servants of the Company, who had either returned to Europe or looked forward to such a return, these reiterated attempts to get rid of the most convenient means of remitting the interest of their accumulations filled them with alarm, and induced a considerable number to accede to the offer of a four per cent loan, with bills on the Court for the interest in favour of residents in Europe. At the same time arrangements were made for paying off the first five per cent. loan and portions of the second; and the holders of those loans submitted, therefore, to the diminution of the rate of interest, and subscribed to the four per cent. loan to the extent of nearly ten millions. Many, however, rather than accede to a rate which was evidently premature, and which was certain to end in the depreciation of the principal, handed over their property to the houses of business, and were consequently involved in their ruin. The Government benefited by the alarm which was thus created, and opened a fourth four per cent. loan in 1834—while

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in 1835 the instructions from England, consequent upon the provisions of the new Charter, put a final term to the only 6 per cent. loan still outstanding, partly by its discharge, and partly by its tranference to a remittable loan, at 5 per cent. not redeemable, before the expiration of the period of twenty years, for which the administration of India had been continued to the East India Company. The full effect of those measures was not felt until the succeeding year; but in 1835-6, an important relief was afforded to the finances of India by an actual reduction of both the principal and interest of the public debt[1]; and a further prospective improvement was anticipated, from the altered relation between the charges and the receipts, by which the latter considerably exceeded the former, and afforded a surplus more than sufficient to cover the territorial expenses, incurred in England. The embarrassments consequent upon the Burma war were thus to a great degree sur-

[1] The principal of the Registered Debt in India, on the 30th April, 1823, was called 22,983,000*l.*; on the 30th April, 1829, it had risen to 30,188,000*l.*; on the 30th April, 1836, it was 26,947,000*l.* The annual amount of interest at these several dates was 1,540,000*l.*, 1,958,000*l.*, and 1,426,000*l.*; showing, therefore, a reduction of 632,000*l.* from the second, and 111,000*l.* from the first, although the principal was of higher amount.—Annual Account of the Territorial Revenues and disbursements of the East India Company; also, statements of Revenue and Charges, printed by order of the House of Commons, 12th August, 1842. In these Statements, as compared with all preceding accounts, a very material reduction has apparently taken place; as, for instance, in the amount of the Registered Debt for 1829, which is stated by the Committee of the House of Commons of 1832, to be £39,378,000, or nine millions more than is specified above. The greater part of this seeming difference arises from a different calculation of the value of the Rupee in exchange. In the accounts prepared for Parliament, subsequently to 1830, the computation of the value of the Sicca rupee in pounds sterling, through the medium of the current rupee, was discarded, and an apparent diminution of the revenues and charges to the extent of 16 per cent. consequently takes place—the Sicca rupee being at once rated at two shillings.

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mounted, and the finances of the British Indian Empire were placed by the economical arrangements of the Governor-General, once more in that condition of prosperity, which they may be calculated to preserve, as long as the maintenance of tranquillity obviates occasion for extraordinary expenditure[1].

[1] The correction, explained in the preceding note, as applied to the whole of the statements of revenues and charges from 1814-15 to 1839, was submitted to the House of Commons 24th August, 1842—from which document the following comparison is derived of the three periods of 1823, 1829, and 1836:—

	1823.	1829.	1836.
Revenues	19,645,000	19,486,000	19,543,000
Charges..	16,986,000	18,541,000	15,991,000
Surplus Revenue	2,659,000	945,000	3,552,000
Home Charges ..	2,806,000	1,906,000	2,110,000
Deficit..........	£ 147,000	£1,021,000	£1,442,000 Surplus.

providing therefore fully for all territorial disbursements in England.

Some apprehension was excited by a slight decline of the land-revenue between 1831—2, and 1833—4; but the depression was only temporary, according to the following statements of the average land-revenues of those three years, with the preceding and three succeeding years—

Land Revenue.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
From 1828—9 to 1830—1,	£6,786,000	2,933,000	1,361,000	11,080,000
" 1831—2 to 1833—4,	6,575,000	2,757,000	1,348,000	10,680,000
" 1834—5 to 1836—7,	7,040,000	2,859,000	1,515,000	11,414,000

CHAPTER VII.

Internal Occurrences, — occasional Disturbances, — Tumult raised by Mohammedan Fanatics near Calcutta, — suppressed. — Troubles on the Eastern Frontier. — Asam, — Incursions of Singphos. — Kasya Hills, — Murder of Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, — desultory Hostilities, — Submission of the Chiefs, — Surrender of Raja Tirath Sing, — imprisoned for Life, — succeeded by Raja Sing, — Agreement with him. — Kachar, — Assassination of the Raja, — annexed to the British Provinces. — Jyntia, — British Subjects sacrificed, — Land sequestrated, — Raja pensioned. — Tenaserim, — Insurrection at Tavoy and Mergui, — defeated. — Malacca, — Demands on the Panghulu of Naning, resisted, — deposed from his Office, — Detachment sent against him, — defeated, — Reinforcements sent from Madras, — opposed by the Malays, — advance to Tabo. — The Panghulu flies, — surrenders himself, — Naning annexed to Malacca, — Disturbances on the Western Frontier. — Sambhalpur, — Kole Insurrection in Chota-nagpur. — Bamanghati. — Burrabhúm. — South Western Frontier Provinces placed under a Commissioner. — Troubles in the Northern Circars and at Kemedi quieted. — State of Mysore, — Misgovernment of the Raja, — popular Insurrections. — Raja deposed. — Mysore governed by a Commissioner. — Visit of Governor-

General to the Madras Presidency.—Affairs of Coorg.—Cruelty of the Raja,—Enmity to the British,—Treacherous Designs,—declared an Enemy.—Invasion of Coorg in Four Divisions,—Advance of the First and Second to Madhukaira,—the Third repulsed,—the Fourth obliged to retire,—the Raja surrenders,—sent a Prisoner to Bangalore,—the Province annexed to the British Government.—The Governor-General in the Nilgerhi Hills.—First Council of India.—Change of System proclaimed.—Return of Governor-General to Bengal.

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ALTHOUGH the progress of legislature and domestic improvement, which has been described, was undisturbed by any interruption of internal tranquillity of a serious nature, yet occasional demonstrations of turbulence and disaffection took place in the interval, which merit notice as characteristic of the temper and feelings of the people, and as illustrative of the advantage of treating them with due consideration, while vigorously repressing any attempt to throw off the restraints which are imposed by all civilised governments upon the passions of the multitude.

The chief seats of the disturbances in question were the recently acquired provinces on the eastern and western frontiers, inhabited by races little habituated to legitimate control: but, in one instance, the immediate vicinity of Calcutta was alarmed by the unusual occurrence of a tumult, which was not put down without the employment of military force. We have already had occasion to ad-

vert to the rise of a fanatical sect among the Mohammedans, originating with Syed Ahmed; the professed object of which was to restore Mohammedanism to its original simplicity, and to purify it from the corruptions which had sprung up in India through the practices of the Shias, or followers of Ali; or which had been borrowed from the idolatrous ceremonies of the Hindus. Islam and Kafir, according to the phraseology of the disciples of Syed Ahmed, had become mixed together like Khichri (a dish of pulse and rice), and it was their aim to get rid of the extraneous defilement. They prohibited accordingly the Shia celebration of the Moharram, when prayers are read in commemoration of the death of the Khalif Ali and his sons, and Tazias or representations of their tombs are carried in procession. To demolish a Tazia was, they asserted, as meritorious an act as to break an idol. They denounced also the prevalent custom of going in pilgrimage to the tombs of certain reputed prophets and saints, of offering prayers to them, and making presents at their shrines, and soliciting their intercession for the obtaining of blessings, or the averting of misfortune; such vicarious dependence being, in their doctrine, an impugnment of the unity of God, and the most reprehensible blasphemy. Various other popular usages, evidently tinctured by Hinduism, were equally condemned. This interference with long cherished abuses, the affectation by these puritans of greater sanctity, and the contumely which they displayed towards all, except those of their own persuasion, excited the resentment and provoked the recrimination of both Moham-

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medans and Hindus. A community of the reformers was settled in the vicinity of Baraset, in Lower Bengal, and, by their pretensions and denunciations, aroused the indignation of the other Mohammedan inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who carried their complaints to the Hindu Zemindar, on whose estate both parties resided. Taking part with the complainants, the Zemindar imposed fines upon the sectaries, and encouraged their opponents and his personal retainers to treat them with ridicule and insult. They represented their grievances to the magistrate; but redress being delayed beyond their endurance, they took the law into their own hands, assembled in arms in considerable numbers, under the leading of one Titu Miya, a fakir, who inculcated the doctrines of Syed Ahmed, and commenced a religious warfare against their Hindu neighbours, by destroying a temple, and killing a cow. From this they proceeded to acts of aggravated violence, compelling all the villagers to profess adherence to their religious creed, and forcing the Brahmins especially to repeat the Mohammedan formula of faith, and to swallow beef. In proportion as they collected numbers, they increased in audacity, plundered and burnt the villages and factories in the neighbourhood, and put to death all who were in any way obnoxious to them, or who ventured to offer resistance. Two attempts to suppress the disturbance by the civil power were unsuccessful; and, on the second occasion, the magistrate and his party were discomfited by an overwhelming multitude, and were obliged to seek safety by a precipitate retreat. The

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chief native officer of police was overtaken and murdered. Several of the insurgents were also killed, but they remained masters of the field; and continued for some days to spread terror and devastation through the district. Troops were ordered against them. The 11th and 48th Regiments of N. I., with guns, and a party of Horse, marched from Barackpore and Dum-dum, and came up with them at Hugli. They were at first boldly resisted in the open plain. A few rounds of grape, however, drove the insurgents to take shelter in a stockade, where they maintained themselves resolutely against the troops. The post was carried after about an hour's fighting, with the loss of seventeen, or eighteen Sipahis; but about a hundred of the fanatics were killed, and two hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. The remainder dispersed: parties of them occasionally made their appearance in the lower parts of Bengal, but they never again collected in force, nor hazarded a conflict with the authorities. The doctrines which they thus endeavoured to disseminate at the point of the sword, have still their votaries among the educated Mohammedans of India, whose bigotry has rather augmented than decreased with the extension of liberal opinions among the Hindus; but the rigorous puritanism of Syed Ahmed is too repugnant to the tastes and habits of the lower orders of Indian Mohammedans, ever to exercise over them any wide or permanent influence.

The troubles on the eastern frontier extended at intervals throughout the whole boundary, from Asam to the Peninsula of Malacca, but were

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entirely of local operation, and were suppressed without much difficulty. A Singpho chief, in the commencement of 1830, crossed the mountains separating Asam from Hookong, and being joined by the Gaums, or head-men of the Latora and Tengapani villages, who had previously professed allegiance to the British Government, attempted to surprise Sadiya, the most eastern station in that quarter. Their united force amounted to about three thousand, of whom not more than two hundred were provided with musquets; the rest being armed with spears and heavy swords. Plunder and the carrying off of the Asamese as slaves appeared to be the only incentives of the inroad. It was promptly repelled. The political agent, Captain Neufville, having assembled a small party of the Asam Light Infantry, and about two hundred of the militia of the Khamti and Moamaria tribes, attacked the marauders at Latao, on the Tonga River, and, after a short action, put them to flight. They fell back to Latora, where they stockaded themselves. Having been joined by a reinforcement of the Asam Infantry, and the contingent of the Gaums who remained faithful, one division, under a native officer, Subahdar Zalim Sing, was sent to take the stockades in rear, while another, under the political agent, threatened them from the front. As soon as Zalim Sing made his appearance, the enemy, after firing a few shots, abandoned their works and fled to the hills, over which they were driven, with some loss, into the Burma boundary. Advantage was taken of their incursion by a body of disaffected Asamese to attack the small British party at Rungpore; but

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timely intimation of their purpose having been received, they were repulsed and pursued into the thickets[1]. These checks were insufficient to deter the Singphos from renewing their incursions, although attended with repeated discomfiture; and the eastern frontier of Upper Asam can scarcely yet be regarded as secure. To put a stop to the petty insurrections of the Asamese, instigated chiefly by individuals who had held authority under the former native Government, it was determined to effect a partial restoration of the latter. A tract situated in Central Asam was, in consequence, assigned in sovereignty to Purandhar Sing, who, as we have seen, was for a season Raja of Asam, upon condition of subordination to the British Government, and payment of an annual tribute.

Disturbances of a more serious character broke out in the Kasya hills. The village of Nanklao, about half-way between Sylhet and Asam, had been obtained from Tirat Sing, who was considered as the chief of the Kasyas, by an amicable cession; and was intended to be converted into a sanatory station for European invalids, being situated at an elevation of above five thousand feet above the sea, and enjoying a cool and salubrious climate. In April, 1829, the village was suddenly surrounded by a number of armed hill-men, headed by Tirat Sing and other chiefs; and Lieutenant Bedingfield, who, with Lieutenant Burlton and Mr. Bowman, were resident in the place, was invited to a conference. As soon as he presented himself, he was attacked and murdered. Lieutenant Burlton and

[1] Sketches of Asam, p. 64.

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his companion, with four Sipahis, defended themselves in the house they occupied till night; and next morning endeavoured to retreat towards Asam. The party made good their retreat till evening, but were then overpowered and murdered. One of the Sipahis alone escaped. The causes of this violence were for some time unascertained; but it appeared to have originated in the dissatisfaction of the chiefs with the arrangement into which Tirat Sing had entered with the Political Agent, acknowledging the supremacy of the British Government, and assenting to the formation of roads and stations. He had been treated with as the Raja of the country; but this was an error, as he was only one of an oligarchy of petty chiefs of equal authority: and to pacify their indignation at the powers he had assumed, he joined in the outrage committed at Nanklao. The presence of Europeans, and their transit through the hills, was exceedingly distasteful to all classes; and the feeling was said to be aggravated by the extortion and insolence of the native subordinate officers in their treatment of the Kasyas, whom they forcibly compelled to assist in the labour of making roads and constructing cantonments[1]. So barbarous a mode of expressing their resentment necessarily required retribution; and detachments were sent from Sylhet to punish

[1] According to Captain Pemberton, the murders of Nanklao were supposed to have been caused by the speech of a Bengali Chaprasi, who, in a dispute with the Kasyas, threatened them with Mr. Scott's vengeance; and told them that they were to be subjected to the same taxation as was levied on the inhabitants of the plains. Although wholly false, the threat excited the alarm, and roused the indignation of the mountaineers, already excited by the insolent demeanour and abuse of the subordinate native agents who had accompanied Mr. Scott into the hills.—Report on the Eastern Frontier, p. 223.

the offenders. Whenever the troops came in contact with the mountaineers, the latter were easily overthrown and scattered; but the nature of the country protected them from any decisive infliction, and enabled them to prolong the contest. A harassing series of predatory attacks upon the frontier villages of Sylhet and Asam was carried on by the Kasyas through the three succeeding years; and were retaliated by the destruction of their villages by detachments which penetrated into the thickets. The chiefs were at last wearied of the contest; and by the end of 1832 most of them had entered into engagements acknowledging the supremacy of the Company, and ceding the tracts which were required for the communication between Sylhet and Asam, notwithstanding their repugnance to the cession. Those who had taken part with Tirat Sing submitted to pay a pecuniary fine for having assisted him; but they declined to aid in his apprehension; and the condition was not insisted on. In the beginning of the following year, however, the Raja gave himself up, only stipulating that his life should not be forfeited. He was sent as a state prisoner to Dacca. Raja Sing, his nephew, a lad of fourteen, was acknowledged as his successor by the Kasyas; and the district of Nanklao was restored to him by the British Government, on condition of its right being admitted to make roads through the hills between Asam and Sylhet, and to construct stations, and guard and post-houses along the line of road; and the Raja promised to supply workmen and materials for constructing the roads and

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keeping them in repair on being paid for the same; to furnish grazing land for as many cattle as the Government should deem it necessary to keep on the hills; to arrest and hand over to the British authorities any person who might have committed any offence within the limits of a British post and endeavoured to abscond; and to submit to payment of a fine for breach of any of the conditions of the engagement. These measures, and an improved appreciation of the advantages of civilised intercourse have since allayed the jealousy of the Kasyas, and secured a free communication across the hills between Asam and the lower provinces of Bengal[1].

The authority of the British Government was still more decidedly established in the contiguous provinces of Jyntia and Kachar, chiefly through the folly and criminality of their native rulers. In the latter, the Raja, Govind Chandra, who had been restored to his authority after the Burma war, was murdered, in the beginning of 1830, by his own guard. He had made himself obnoxious to his people, by his preference of Mohammedans and Bengali Hindus in the conduct of public business, and by the extortion which he practised through their agency. His murder was not, however, exclusively ascribable to this cause; and although positive proof of his guilt could not be adduced, there was no doubt that Gambhir Sing, the Raja of Manipur, was deeply implicated in the

[1] Not fewer than nineteen petty chiefs entered, at different times, into these engagements; but there are others with whom no intercourse has been established.

crime, from the perpetration of which he calculated on obtaining the government of Kachar. In this expectation he was disappointed. As there was no acknowledged successor to Govind Chandra; and great inconvenience had been suffered on the Sylhet frontier from the imbecile management of the neighbouring districts by native rule—as the measure also was acceptable to the people, by whom it had been repeatedly solicited—it was determined to annex Kachar permanently to the territories of the Company. The hills east of the western curve of the Barak river were made over to Gambhir Sing; and a tract of country bordering on Asam was guaranteed, under condition of allegiance, to a chief named Tula Ram, whose father, a servant of a former Raja of Kachar, had made himself independent in that part of the country during the anarchy which preceded the Burma invasion. Gambhir Sing died a few years afterwards, in the beginning of 1834, and was succeeded by an infant son, under the protection of the British power.

At the end of 1832, the Raja of Jyntia having died, he was succeeded by his nephew; but the Government hesitated to acknowledge his title, unless security could be obtained for the maintenance of order in the country, and the payment of a small annual tribute. It soon appeared that neither could be expected. The subordinate chiefs defied the Raja's authority; and he was wholly without the means of enforcing it. In the time of his predecessor, four men had been carried off from the British territory to be offered as victims to the goddess Kali, who was worshipped by the Raja and

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his principal ministers. Three were sacrificed—the fourth effected his escape. A peremptory demand was made for the apprehension of the persons principally concerned in this atrocity, at the head of whom was the Raja of Goha, a dependant of the Raj. The demand was not complied with; and it was equally evaded by the reigning Prince, when repeated upon his accession. In order to punish him for his contumacy, and deter the surrounding chiefs from the repetition of an act of barbarous violence, of which previous instances, it appeared, had not been uncommon, it was determined to sequestrate the possessions of the Raja in the level land, leaving to him the more hilly portion. Deprived of the resources from the more fertile tracts, the Raja declared himself unable to restrain his disobedient subjects in the hills, and voluntarily relinquished them for a pension, and permission to reside in the British territory: the terms were acceded to, and Jyntia thenceforth became a British province.

The loss of power which the change of Government had inflicted upon the Burma functionaries in the Tenaserim provinces, and the reduction in the numbers of the troops by which they were protected, induced some of the chiefs to engage in a rashly and ill-supported conspiracy for the repossession of the towns of Tavoy and Mergui. At the first of these, Mung-da, the former Governor, made his appearance at the head of about five hundred men; and, although repulsed from an attack on the magazine, he compelled the small party of Madras infantry to retreat to the wharf, and occupied the town. The troops maintained their

position, with the assistance of the Chinese settlers, who adhered to the British, until they were reinforced from Moalmain, when they recovered Tavoy, and succeeded in securing Mung-da and his principal adherents. They were tried for revolt, and executed, and tranquillity was restored. At Mergui no actual collision occurred. The report of an intended insurrection, and the weakness of his detachment—not above fifty Sipahis—impelled the officer in command to abandon the place before any actual demonstration had been made by the insurgents. The defeat of the rising at Tavoy, deterred the conspirators at Mergui from prosecuting their project; and the arrival of a stronger force completed their submission. Some of the ringleaders were seized and punished. Tranquillity was further secured by the death of Ujina, the ex-Governor of Martaban, who had instigated the rebels to their unsuccessful enterprise, and who was murdered by order of the Viceroy of Rangoon, as a turbulent chief, equally troublesome to his own Government and that of its allies.

Military operations of scarcely a more important character, although of more protracted duration, took place at the extremity of the British dependencies, in the Eastern Archipelago, at a somewhat later date. A small district named Naning, lying north of Malacca, had been originally reduced to subjection by the Portuguese, and had continued to acknowledge allegiance to the Dutch, and their successors, the English, to the extent of paying an inconsiderable annual tribute in kind, and accepting the confirmation of their Panghulu, or Head-

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man, on the occasion of his accession, by the European Governor of Malacca. As long as this arrangement lasted, the Malay chiefs of Naning were equally obedient to the British power as they had been to the Dutch; but it had been determined, under orders from home, to regard Naning as an integral part of the Malacca district; and in 1828, the Panghulu was required to accede to the revenue arrangements which had been introduced at Malacca, founded on the asserted right of the Government to the Proprietorship of all the lands; and to consent to pay as tribute, one tenth of the produce. A pecuniary compensation was offered to Abd-ul Sayid, the Panghulu, for the relinquishment of his claims. It was also proposed to take a census of the population, and the Panghulu was forbidden to pronounce any judicial sentence, except in trivial matters, but to send offenders for trial to Malacca. The census was allowed to be taken, but the limitation of jurisdiction was resisted, and the right of the Government to appropriate the lands and levy a tenth of the crops, was resolutely denied. The Panghulu, who had established a reputation among his countrymen for extraordinary sanctity, resented the propositions by discontinuing his periodical visits to Malacca, and withholding his tribute altogether. He further incurred the displeasure of the Government by plundering lands within the Malacca boundary, the hereditary property of an acknowledged British subject, from which Abd-ul Sayid claimed a revenue, and disputed the right of the Company to interfere. A proclamation was accordingly issued declaring him

in a state of contumacy, and deposing him from his office as Panghulu of Naning. A detachment of one hundred and fifty Sipahis, of the 29th Madras N. I., under Captain Wyllie, having been sent into the district of Naning to enforce the decree of the Commissioner of Malacca, advanced, on the 16th August, 1831, after a slight opposition, to a village about seventeen miles from Malacca, and five from Tabo, the residence of the Panghulu. The difficulty of the country, abounding with jungle, through which narrow footpaths blocked up by felled trees afforded the only access, and the increasing boldness and numbers of the Malays practised in the desultory warfare which the closeness and intricacy of the thicket favoured, arrested the further advance of the party, cut them off from their supplies, and compelled them to fall back in order to maintain the communication with Malacca, to Sanjie Pattaye, where a storehouse was erected and stores had been deposited. Additional troops having arrived at Malacca, a rein forcement was detached to the party at Sanjie Pattaye; but the road was barricaded, and the detachment was not strong enough to carry the stockades: after sustaining some loss, including one officer killed, Lieutenant White, the division returned to Malacca, and orders were despatched to the first party to continue their retreat. This was accomplished with some difficulty and loss, and with the abandonment of all the heavy baggage and two field pieces, which had accompanied the detachment. The defeat of the troops gave fresh audacity to the Malays. They were masters of all the open country,

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and the inhabitants of Malacca trembled for the safety of the town.

1832.

As it was now apparent that the Settlements in the straits of Malacca had been left with means inadequate to suppress any display of a refractory spirit, reinforcements were despatched from Madras; and in 1832 a force was organised at Malacca, consisting of the 5th Regiment Madras N. I., a Company of Rifles, two Companies of Sappers and Miners, and a detail of European and Native Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert. The force moved on the 2nd March, but had advanced only to Alor Gajeh, not more than fifteen miles from Malacca, by the 5th of April, having been delayed by the necessity of clearing a road through the forest, and driving the Malays from the stockades which they had thrown up. In these operations, several of the Sipahis and Lieutenant Harding fell. At Alor Gajeh, the resistance was still more obstinate, and the force was obliged to remain on the defensive. The Malays made repeated attacks on the encampment — in repelling one of which Ensign Walker was killed. Reinforcements, chiefly of the 46th Madras N. I., joined in the course of May; and on the 15th June, Tabo was taken, after a feeble defence. The Panghulu and his principal advisers fled for refuge to the neighbouring states. The district was taken possession of, and placed under the management of fifteen different Panghulus, in place of the fugitive, and the people finally settled into order and obedience. Abd-ul Sayid surrendered himself unconditionally, in 1834, and was allowed to remain at Malacca, upon a pension,

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on condition of his furnishing securities for his peaceable behaviour. Tranquillity was thus restored to the peninsula after a loss of life and waste of expenditure, which might, perhaps, have been avoided by a more conciliatory course of proceeding in the first instance, and by a more efficient application of military force when it was resolved to have recourse to coercion[1]. The justice of the claim in which the quarrel originated, rested upon the same grounds as the occupation of Malacca—the power of the intrusive Government, whether Portuguese, Dutch, or English, to compel the people to obey its orders. The value of the demand, was a poor compensation for the cost of enforcing it: but the annexation of Naning to Malacca was politically advantageous to the latter; and the population of the former has evidently benefited by the change of administration[2].

Returning to the proper limits of British India, and crossing over to the western frontier, we find the districts in the south in a state of protracted and lawless disorder, arising from causes not very easy to trace, but acquiring intensity and permanence from the undecided and procrastinating policy of the British Government, and the mistaken economy

[1] Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, by Lieutenant T. J. Newbold, vol. i. chap. 5. Naning. Also, details from the Singapore Chronicle, and in the Monthly Asiatic Journal, N. S., vols. vii. and viii. The same Journal, vol. xi. p. 75, contains extracts from a translation of a Malay document, attributed to a native in the service of the Panghulu, giving an account of the origin and progress of the war. With respect to the former, the justice of any demand on the Panghulu beyond an annual complimentary token of amity and good faith, is strenuously denied.

[2] The Revenue of 1833-4 was 760 Dollars; in 1835-6, 1240 Dollars. The population at the former period was less than 5,000: at the latter, nearly 6,000.—Newbold, i. 136, 261.

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of reducing its military strength below the amount required to awe and control the barbarous border tribes, incapable of understanding the obligation of the engagements which had been contracted with them from time to time, and chafing under the restraints of civilised society, which it was prematurely attempted to impose upon their lawless habits. As long as a strong curb was maintained upon the Koles and Dangas of Sambhalpur and Singbhum, by the superintendence of a Political Agent, who was empowered to interfere authoritatively for the preservation of internal peace, and had at his disposal a military force sufficient to overawe the refractory, some degree of order was maintained, and most of the Kole districts enjoyed a condition of progressive prosperity. When the powers of the agent were curtailed, and the troops on the frontier reduced, the barbarous tribes relapsed into the indulgence of their former propensities, and abandoned the labours of the plough for the more exciting avocations of plunder and bloodshed, until their excesses compelled the Government to recur to the only means by which they were to be repressed, effective supervision, and an adequate military establishment.

Towards the end of 1829, disturbances commenced in Sambhalpur, arising from a quarrel between the agricultural Koles, and their Raja. They were appeased for a time by the mediation of the officer commanding the Ramgerh battalion. At the close of the following year, they revived; the head-men of several of the dependent districts of Sambhalpur, complaining that the promise of the

local government to replace them in the possession of lands which they had lost in opposing the Mahrattas had never been fulfilled. The right of the reigning Rani was at the same time disputed by various claimants, and she had become unpopular by the partiality which she displayed towards her own relatives, and the exclusion from office of those of her late husband. Her uncle, who was her chief minister, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious by the rigour with which he exacted the payment of the public revenue. The discontented Ryots took up arms, and, assembling in great numbers threatened to attack the capital, from which they were diverted by the interposition of the Agent, through whose mediation the lands were restored to their original possessors, and the minister was dismissed. It was neces ary, however, to station a military force at Sambhalpur for its security, and ultimately to remove the Rani, who was evidently unable to keep her turbulent subjects in order. She was placed upon a pension; and Narayan Sing, a relation of the last Raja, was elevated to the government.

Shortly after the settlement of these disorders in Sambhalpur, or at the end of 1831, disturbances of a still more serious and protracted character broke out amongst the subjects of the Company, and of various petty tributary chiefs, in the province of Chota Nagpur, comprising, under that general designation, the forest cantons of Sirguja and Singbhum, as well as the tract more properly known as Chota Nagpur; having Sambhalpur to the south,

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and the districts of Ramgerh, Hazaribagh, and Palamu on the north, Burdwan and Midnapore on the east, and the sources of the Nerbudda, and part of Nagpur on the west. Although presenting extensive open and fertile tracts, which were partially cultivated, much of the country was overspread with thickets, in which the wild tribes of Koles and Dangas resided under the loose authority of Rajput chiefs, to whom they were personally attached. Some of them followed a savage life, depending for subsistence chiefly on the chase; but numbers also pursued, with various degrees of skill and industry, the occupations of agriculture, from the profits of which they paid a limited revenue to their chiefs. In the open plains also, and those places which were directly under the British authority, besides the Kole population, a number of families from Behar and Bengal had been encouraged by the Zemindars to establish themselves; and, in many instances, the hereditary occupants had been dispossessed in favour of the new settlers, in consideration of the advanced rents which their more industrious habits and skilful cultivation enabled them to afford. The internal government of the several estates was generally entrusted to the chiefs; but they were required to pay a small annual tribute, to prevent robbery and murder within their districts, and to apprehend and give up to the British authorities all fugitives and criminals. In the other parts of the province, the judicial and revenue regulations of the Bengal Government were in force. This state of things was most unpalatable both to chiefs and people: the former felt

themselves humiliated by the conditions which made them responsible to the courts of justice and police; and the tributary payments which they were called upon to make, pressed heavily upon their restricted means, and impelled them to levy exactions from their subjects to which they had not been accustomed, or to let the lands to strangers, attributing both to the necessity of complying with the demands of the British Government, and throwing upon it the whole odium of their proceedings. It is not unlikely also, that the extortionate and insolent conduct of the subordinate native revenue and police officers tended to aggravate the discontent of the Koles; and their anger and apprehension were excited by reports, diligently disseminated by the chiefs, that it was the intention of the British Government to expel them from the lands they cultivated, in behalf of the settlers, against whom they had already occasion to cherish sentiments of jealousy and hatred. From these and other exciting causes, the precise character of which could not be ascertained, and which was perhaps scarcely known to the Koles themselves, an almost universal rising took place, the first efforts of which fell especially upon the peaceable inhabitants, and the foreign settlers, whose fields were laid waste, and villages set on fire, and who were ruthlessly slaughtered by the infuriated barbarians[1]. From these outrages the insurgents proceeded to attack such of the chiefs as had been most oppressive in their exactions, or against whom their fury was directed by the

[1] From eight hundred to a thousand settlers from the surrounding districts were said to have been murdered or burnt in their houses.

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machinations of some among the Zemindars, who availed themselves of this opportunity to gratify an ancient feud, or to wrest from their neighbours a portion of their estates, by turning upon them, through false and malicious reports, the whole torrent of popular indignation. Although the Government of Bengal acknowledged no obligation to protect the Zemindars of Chota Nagpur against each other or their subjects; yet even its cold and selfish policy was roused to the necessity of interference by the impossibility of confining the outrages perpetrated to the estates of the dependent chiefs, and their menaced extension to the British districts on the one hand, and those of the Raja of Nagpur on the other. As the Raja of Singbhum, Achet Sing, was suspected of having been concerned in instigating the disturbances, for the furtherance of his own designs against his neighbour, the Raja of Karsama, he was apprised, that, unless he maintained tranquillity within his own boundaries, and refrained from molesting the adjacent districts, the Government would take the management of Singbhum into its own hands; and at the same time troops were despatched from Ramgerh, Dinapore and Benares; and a respectable force was collected at Pethuria, under the general direction of Captain Williamson, the political agent[1]. In the campaign against the insurgents that followed, the military operations were scarcely worthy of the designation, being limited to the desultory employ-

[1] It consisted of the 50th Regiment N. I., a company of the 2nd., the Ramgerh battalion, a squadron of the 3rd Native Cavalry, a brigade of guns, and a body of Irregular Horse and Foot. Many of the chiefs also furnished contingents.

ment of detachments in scouring the country, dispersing parties of the insurgents, surprising their villages, burning their huts, and apprehending their leaders. The Koles, although they assembled sometimes in considerable numbers, amounting to several thousands, rarely hazarded an action, being, in fact, miserably armed with bows and arrows and axes, and a few matchlocks, and wholly incapable of withstanding regular troops. Some injury was suffered from their arrows; and horses and men were severely wounded; a few of whom died of their wounds[1]. Of the insurgents, great numbers were killed; and amongst the slain was the only leader who made himself of note, Buddho Bhagat; whose village, Silagaon, was surprised by a party of the 50th N. I. and a troop of the 3rd Cavalry; and who, with his sons and nephews, and a hundred and fifty of his followers, perished in the attack. No loss whatever was sustained by the assailants. Similar results attended most of the surprises and skirmishes which took place; and there was reason to apprehend, that, in some of these affairs, the Koles were attacked and killed when they were assembled with the purpose of tendering their submission, but had no means of making their purpose known, either party being ignorant of the language of the other[2]. Worn out by the incessant pursuit

[1] Ensign Macleod died of a wound received from an arrow; but the casualties of the whole campaign amounted to but sixteen killed and forty-four wounded.

[2] A remarkable instance of this is recorded by Dr. Spry from the testimony of an eye-witness. "A multitude, by their own account four thousand, but perhaps not so many, approached a military division, as was supposed, with hostile intentions. Their approach was gradual, until at length about one hundred, more courageous than the rest, came within musket range, and every one anxiously listened to

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of the military detachments; and convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle, the people at length manifested a general disposition to throw themselves upon the mercy of the Government; and Achet Sing and the other chiefs and head-men, intimidated by the resolute measures adopted, lent their active aid to restore the pacification of the province. Quiet was accordingly re-established, and the troops were withdrawn. Of the insurgents who had been taken prisoners, a number were detained in custody, and brought to trial before a Special Commission, by whom sentence of death was necessarily pronounced upon a considerable proportion. Taking into consideration, however, the impulses by which they had been actuated, the sentence was remitted, and a general amnesty was proclaimed. The disputes among the chiefs which remained to be adjusted, were settled in the middle of the following year, at a conference held at Srikola by the Agent with all the principal Rajas and landholders and heads of villages, when they renewed their promises of fealty and submission, and engaged to obtain compensation for the losses inflicted on the orderly portion of the population. The arrangements subsequently adopted, to which we shall presently advert, confirmed the impression that effected and

hear the word 'Fire' given. Finding we did not fire, they came still closer; on which, the butcher of the force, as he had been in this part of the country before, and knew something of the language, went out of camp and made signs expressive of a desire to speak to them. They allowed him to approach; and so effectual was the man's eloquence, that they all consented to lay down their arms, and came in crowding round us. The poor wretches seemed greatly delighted at the manner in which the business had terminated."—Modern India, by H. Spry, M.D., vol. i. p.120.

perpetuated the maintenance of peace and order in Chota-Nagpur.

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The same barbarous races were also in a state of tumult about the same period in a different part of the country—on the confines of Cuttack and Midnapore—excited more particularly by false reports, spread among them by the agents of one of their chiefs, in order to make them the instruments of his designs against another. The Zemindar of Bamanghati, having acquired extensive influence among the Koles and Goands in that part of the country, attempted to throw off his dependance on the Raja of Mohurbhunj, and commencing the usual process of indiscriminate devastation, committed acts of outrage on the villages of the Cuttack province. The Commissioner, having in vain remonstrated against these excesses, was under the necessity of recourse to military assistance, and the 38th Regiment was despatched from Midnapore. The refractory Zemindar was then induced to come into camp and submit his grievances to the arbitration of the Commissioner, which obviated the necessity of active operations. The extreme unhealthiness of the country proved, however, more destructive than any hostile force, and such was its unsparing severity, that not one officer of the corps was capable of exercising command. Several died; and the rest escaped death only by an immediate return to their quarters at Midnapore. The men also suffered, but not to the like extent.

The campaign against the Koles of Chota Nagpur had scarcely terminated when the presence of the troops was required in the adjacent districts of

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Barabhúm and Manbhúm; inhabited principally by the tribe of Choars, subject, like the Koles, to Zemindars and Rajas of Rajput descent, and equally addicted, at the instigation of their turbulent lords, to the perpetration of outrage and murder. The cause of the rising of the Choars was sufficiently clear—the strong dislike entertained, by the chiefs especially, for the judicial regulations of Bengal; by which their rank was disregarded, their privileges were circumscribed, their power impaired, and they were made personally amenable to the processes of the Court and the authority of the Police. The people took part with their leaders. The Zemindari of Barabhúm had been disputed between two brothers; and had been assigned to the elder by decree of the Court. Of the two sons of the successful competitor, the elder, Ganga Govind Sing, became Raja; the younger, Madho Sing, his Dewan or minister, and he incurred extreme unpopularity by his extortionate and usurious demands. He had also treated his cousin Ganga Narayan Sing, the son of the unsuccessful candidate for the Zemindari, with peculiar cruelty and contumely; and had exasperated the resentment which the family contention had engendered. Determined on vengeance, Ganga Narayan collected a body of armed retainers, attacked, and set fire to the official residence of the Native Judge at Barabazar, whom he accused of favouring his enemies, killed a number of people, particularly Mohammedans, and, forcibly carrying off Madho Sing to the neighbouring hills, put him to death. Notwithstanding these acts of violence, many of the petty chiefs and

Choars espoused his cause; and he was soon at the head of between two and three thousand men, in a strong and almost inaccessible fastness at Bandi, where he defied the local authorities. After a fruitless attempt against Bandi, the setting-in of the rains compelled the troops to quit the field; and Ganga Narayan availed himself of the interval to assume the title of Raja, and levy contributions from the surrounding country; making occasional incursions into the districts that continued well-affected, and destroying the police stations. As soon, however, as the season permitted, these ravages were arrested. Three regiments of N. I. with guns, the Ramgerh battalion, and a body of Irregular Horse and Foot, marched from Bancora, at the end of November, against the insurgents; and after overcoming difficulties, occasioned more by the nature of the country than the valour of the enemy, captured and destroyed the post of Bandi, which Ganga Narayan had made his head-quarters. The chief himself was absent; and soon ceased to be the occasion of further anxiety. He had repaired to Singbhúm to raise reinforcements amongst the Koles; and taking part in hostilities set on foot by Achet Sing against the Zemindar of Karsama, was killed in the affray. Tranquillity was not immediately produced by his fall Several other chiefs continued refractory; and it was not until April 1833, that they were secured, and the disturbed districts were pacified. The ringleaders were punished; but the Government of Bengal, convinced of the injudiciousness of attempting to introduce laws adapted to an advanced stage of

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civilisation, among the ignorant and uncivilised inhabitants of the Jungle-Mahals, determined to relieve them from the operation of the Regulations, and they were placed under the discretional administration of a Commissioner[1]; an arrangement much more intelligible to the people, and better suited to their condition, than the more complex and vexatious system of revenue and judicial enactments, which had been the mainspring of their discontent[2].

The Presidency of Madras was not exempted from interruptions of the public tranquillity, and the necessity of employing its troops in the maintenance or extension of its authority. The northern Circars, as we have before had occasion to remark, present, in the impenetrable and insalubrious thickets which clothe the skirts of the eastern ghats where they approach the sea, a convenient asylum to fugitives from the decrees of justice or from the stringency of the fiscal exactions of the state. To maintain themselves in their retreat, these outlaws, when possessed of influence, assembled round them parties of the hill tribes, or of refugees of an inferior order; and issuing from their fastnesses, levied contributions or committed ravages along the districts lying contiguously to the mountains. This state of things having continued for some time almost with impunity, it was resolved by the Madras Government, at the end of 1832, to attempt its

[1] Regulation XIII. 1833.

[2] The authority of the Commissioner was extended to the neighbouring districts of Chota Nagpur and Sambhalpur; and embraced a population, in 1840, of above three millions of people. Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii., part i. p.225.

extinction; and troops were posted in the hills, in sufficient strength to guard the passes and prevent the incursions of the marauders, and when favourable opportunities offered, to dislodge them from their haunts and apprehend or slay them. These measures were in some degree successful. Payakrao, one of their principal chiefs, was compelled to fly into the Hyderabad country[1]; another, Virabhadra Raj, a descendant of the Raja of Vizianagaram, was taken and imprisoned for life; and a considerable number of their adherents were seized, of whom about thirty were sentenced to death: the rest were subjected to penalties less severe. Other tumults, which arose at Palconda, were suppressed with like vigour; and quiet was restored in the southern division of the province. Presently afterwards, insubordination, with its ordinary concomitants of plunder and massacre, manifested itself in Kimedi, a dependency of Ganjam, where the Bisayis or cultivators of the hills, rose against their Raja, and soon extended their ravages into the adjacent districts, where a portion of the 41st Regiment was the only force in the field. A detachment of that corps, having been led against Jeringhy, the chief town of the insurgents, was successfully opposed. Major Baxter, who commanded, was wounded mortally, and the detachment was obliged to retreat. Reinforcements[2] were speedily despatched; and military operations were carried on with an activity

[1] He was taken two years afterwards, in 1834, and executed.

[2] Detachments of the 8th, 21st, 41st, and 49th Regiments, a company of Golandanz, and a detachment of Sappers and Miners. Gen. Orders, Madras, 1st July, 1834.

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which soon produced the desired effects. The leaders of the insurrection were apprehended and punished, and the people submitted.

Although not exactly of the character of an infraction of domestic peace, yet the situation of the principality of Mysore, and its intimate connection with the Presidency of Fort St. George, identified the disorders by which it was disturbed with those of Madras, and led to its becoming, in a still greater degree, an integral portion of the Presidency. As long as the administration was conducted by the abilities of Purnia, who had been given to the minor Raja as Dewan, Mysore became one of the most flourishing of the native principalities. The people were contented and prosperous; the assessments were light and regularly realised; the revenues exceeded the disbursements; and, upon the retirement of the minister in 1811, there was a large accumulated balance in the treasury. The successor of Purnia, Linga Raj had neither his talents nor his influence; and the Raja, arrived at mature years, spurned at advice or control. Although not destitute of ability, he was indolent, dissolute, and profusely extravagant, lavishing his wealth upon unworthy favourites, and upon the Brahmins, for whom he entertained a superstitious veneration, and in whose favour he largely alienated his revenue. The hoards of the former administration rapidly disappeared; heavy embarrassments were contracted, and the establishments suffered to fall into arrear. The revenues declined; and to compensate for the deficiency, immoderate exactions were levied upon the people,

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which were aggravated by the corrupt and oppressive practices of the collectors. The consequences of this mismanagement were brought to the notice of the Raja by the Resident repeatedly, but to little purpose, until 1825, when Sir Thomas Munro deemed it advisable to visit Mysore, and express in person to the Raja the sense entertained by the Government of Fort St. George of his proceedings, and insist upon his adoption of measures of reform. Compliance was readily promised; and for some time a better system was pursued; by which the amount of debt was reduced and the expenditure diminished. The Raja, however, soon relapsed into his former prodigality; and by his exactions, forced the people into acts of insubordination. Repeated insurrections took place among the Ryots, in which the revenue officers of the Raja were murdered or driven out of the country; and the disturbances by which Mysore was distracted, began to extend into the Company's territories. The interference of the Resident occasionally succeeded in quieting the people and in obtaining a more equitable adjustment of their assessments; but the quiet was only temporary; and recurrence to a course of extortionate demands provoked the cultivators to a renewal of resistance. Personal and political interests were finally mixed up with the grievances of the people, and were the source of still more alarming disturbances.

The province of Nagar[1], forming one of the

[1] Or more properly Bednore. The name was changed after its conquest by Hyder, to Hyder-Nagar, or City of Hyder. The first part of the term has been dropped, and Nagar "the city," alone retained. Wilks's Mysore, i. 47.

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four principal divisions of Mysore, situated on its western borders, had been governed with almost absolute sway by the Fojdar, Ram Rao, a favourite of the Raja; who not only exercised intolerable oppression over the Ryots, but encouraged any act of violence or abuse of authority from which he might reap pecuniary profit. Complaints addressed to the Raja were unavailing, as the interest of Ram Rao, and his connections at court, precluded all hope of redress. At last, in 1830, unable to bear the tyranny of their Fojdar any longer, the Ryots assembled in arms, and invited the peasantry of the other provinces to join them. Many obeyed the summons; and the insurgents were aided by Rangapa Naik of Terukeri, who, with the head-men of Nagar, had, in the preceding year, set up a pretended descendant of the family[1] which had formerly ruled over the province, in the person of a peasant, Boodi Baswapa of Kaladi, who had obtained from the spiritual guide of a former Raja the signet of the chief; and they professed to acknowledge him as their lawful and hereditary prince. The Raja of Mysore endeavoured to allay the discontent by advancing to the confines of the district and professing his readiness to receive and attend to the complaints of the people; but, at the same time, officers were sent into Nagar with orders to punish and put the insurgents to death. As these measures were ineffective, a strong body of Mysore troops—eight hundred Regular Infantry, six hundred Silladhar Horse, seven hundred Peons armed with matchlocks, and four guns—accom-

[1] Wilks's Mysore, i. 64.

panied and directed by Lieutenant Rochford, an officer of the Resident's escort, marched into the district, took the fort of Kumar Droog, and defeated a considerable body of the rebels at Honelly. In these actions a number of prisoners were taken, of whom a hundred were executed. The force then marched to the fort of Nagar or Bednore, which had been occupied by the insurgents, and where they had hanged a number of the revenue officers, mostly Brahmins, towards whom the inhabitants of the province entertained a violent antipathy, not only as sufferers from their unmerciful extortions, but as followers of a different form of religious faith, being chiefly Lingaits. Nagar was found deserted. Chandraguti, a strong post on the north frontier, was next captured; but the insurrection was unsubdued; and, although the peasantry began to be intimidated and to return to their cottages, the pretender, supported by Rangapa with his son and nephew, Hanumapa and Surjapa Naiks, being joined by adventurers from the southern Mahratta country, and by the armed Peons of Mysore, who cherished a feeling of attachment to the Poligars, their ancient lords, continued at the head of a force which the unaided means of the Raja of Mysore were unable to contend with. Two regiments of N. I., the 15th and 24th, had already been despatched to the scene of action; and a third corps, the 9th, with two companies of his Majesty's 62nd, a squadron of the 7th Native Cavalry, and a brigade of guns, with the Mysore contingent, was despatched, under the command of Colonel Evans, in the beginning of

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1831, from Bangalore. The first movements were unsuccessful; and a check was sustained at Fatteh-pett, which induced Colonel Evans to fall back to Simoga, where the division was concentrated, and whence it again advanced to Nagar, accompanied by the Resident and Dewan, who circulated a proclamation inviting the cultivators to come in and represent their grievances, and promising them redress. The invitation was promptly accepted, although the Ryots declared that they had been treated with more humanity and justice by Tipu than by the Raja. A conciliatory investigation ensued. Large remissions of revenue arrears were made, and numerous abuses were corrected. Entire confidence was manifested in the British officers; none in those of the Raja; and by the exertions of the former, tranquillity was in some degree restored. The main body of the troops returned to Bangalore; leaving the 9th Regiment and the Mysore troops in the province. The Poligars continued in arms; and although not in any considerable force, were not reduced till some time afterwards. In the mean while, the universality of the disaffection and the evident incapacity of the ruler, rendered it manifest that no hope of permanent pacification could be entertained as long as the Raja was entrusted with the administration; and it was resolved by the British Government to enforce those stipulations of the treaty of 1799, which provided for its conditional assumption of the entire management of Mysore. The Raja was accordingly divested of all political power, and the principality was placed

under the authority of a Commissioner, assisted by four Superintendents, for the divisions of Bangalore, Ashtagram, Nagar and Chittledroog: a pension was assigned to the Raja, equal to one-fifth of the nett revenue. The administration of the country was unchanged in other respects, being carried on by native officers, and on the same principles which had been previously in practice, under the general control and direction of the Commissioner and his assistants, subject to the authority of the Supreme Government[1].

The revolution thus effected in Mysore, was followed by a still more radical change in the constitution of the petty principality of Coorg, which was converted by the deposition of its Raja into a province of the Presidency of Madras. The Raja of this small mountainous district, lying between Mysore and Malabar, Vira Rajendra Wudiyar, had for some time past been in the habit of perpetrating acts of outrage and ferocity, which could be accounted for only by the ungoverned impulses of insanity: not only were the officers in his service put to death by his orders without any apparent offence, but the inmates of his palace and his nearest relations were not spared in his paroxysms of cruelty; in the height of which he performed the office of executioner, and with his own hands mutilated and murdered in the most savage manner the unhappy objects of his frantic fury[2]. He had long cherished

[1] These arrangements were made with the concurrence and sanction of the Home authorities. See letters from the Court of Directors to Fort St. George, 6th March 1832, and 6th March 1833. Report Com. H. of C.—Political App. VI. p. 23.

[2] After the capture of his capital, seventeen bodies were disinterred

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a vehement animosity against the English, and had strictly prohibited all intercourse with the British territories or Mysore. No person was permitted, under the penalty of death, to leave Coorg; and no stranger was suffered to cross its borders except those who had signalised themselves as the opponents of the British Government—like the refractory Poligars of Nagar. In this mood his resentment was inflamed by the flight of his sister and her husband, both of whom he had threatened to put to death, but who found a shelter from his fury under the protection of the Resident of Mysore. It was in vain that efforts were made to bring him back to the amicable terms which had been maintained with his predecessors, and to prevail on him to refrain from those excesses which had made him a terror to his family and his people. A British officer was despatched with these objects from Mysore to Madhukaira, but the mission was unavailing[1]. The Raja obstinately refused to allow any intercourse between Coorg and the adjacent provinces, and insisted on his sister and brother-in-law being given up to his revenge. There was reason also to suspect the Raja of secret communication with the Raja of Mysore, exciting him to resist the British Government, and of employing emissaries to seduce the native troops at Bangalore from their allegiance; in consequence of which a plot was concerted by a few desperate and disaffected individuals to seize the fort of

by order of a Committee of Inquiry into the charges against the Raja. They had been decapitated or strangled, and thrown together in a pit dug in the jungle: among them were recognised the aunt of the Raja, his sister's child, and the brother of her husband.

[1] A native agent sent on the same fruitless errand was detained a prisoner by the Raja.

Bangalore, murder their European officers, and subvert the Company's Government. The plot was brought to the knowledge of the authorities by some of the Sipahis who remained faithful to their employers, and the guilty suffered the just retribution of their offence[1]. Without charging the Raja of Coorg with being accessory to this conspiracy[2]; there was sufficient reason in his prohibition of all friendly intercourse, and in the tenor of his communications with the British Government, to treat him as a public enemy, whose independence was incompatible with the security of the British possessions in his neighbourhood; and it was consequently resolved to occupy the principality, and annex it to the territory of Madras. A proclamation was issued, declaring that "the conduct of the Raja had rendered him unworthy of the friendship and protection of the British Government; that he had been guilty of oppression and cruelty towards his subjects; and had assumed an attitude of defiance and hostility towards the British Government; received and encouraged its proclaimed enemies; addressed letters to the Government of Fort St. George and to the Governor-General replete with the most insulting expressions; and had placed under restraint an old and faithful servant of the Company who had been deputed by the Commissioner of Mysore to open a friendly negociation: for which offences Vira Rajendra was no longer to be con-

[1] General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, Madras, 18th Dec. 1832.

[2] Several Mohammedans of consideration who were convicted of having instigated the conspiracy of Bangalore, were taken at the capital of the Raja, upon its being occupied by the British troops.

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sidered Raja of Coorg. An army was about to march against him, which would respect the persons and property of all who were peaceably disposed; and such a system of government would be established as might seem best calculated to secure the happiness of the people"[1].

In order to carry the purposes of the British Government, now under the immediate direction of the Governor-General, who had come from Bengal to Madras more conveniently to superintend the different financial arrangements then in progress, and who was now resident at Bangalore, four several divisions were ordered to enter the province from as many different points: one from the east, commanded by Colonel Lindesay[2]; one from the west, by Colonel Foulis[3]; one from the north, by Colonel Waugh[4], with a supplementary division under Lieut.-Col. Jackson, from Bangalore[5]; and the fourth, consisting of the Wynad Rangers, under Captain Minchin, from the west. Colonel Lindesay, who held the general command, crossed the Kaveri on the 2nd of April; dispersing a small body of the enemy, who appeared disposed to contest the passage. On the 5th, after two marches, rendered difficult by the nature of the route, the ghat of

[1] See the Proclamation, 1st April, 1834, Monthly Asiatic Journal, vol. xv. p. 18.

[2] Consisting of his Majesty's 39th, the 36th, and 48th N. I., with a company of European Artillery, with eight guns and 32nd Sappers and Miners. Lieut.-Col. Steüart, who was attached to this division, had part of the 39th, and the 4th and 35th, N. I.

[3] His Majesty's 48th, 20th, N. I., and details of Native Artillery, with four guns and a party of Sappers and Miners.

[4] His Majesty's 56th and the 9th, and 31st Regiments, N. I., one company Rifles, detachment of Artillery, and Sappers and Miners.

[5] Detachment of his Majesty's 48th and 40th Regiment, N. I.

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Arany was forced, after a slight opposition; and on the following morning the column entered Madhukaira, the capital of Coorg, from which the Raja had retreated. A second division of the eastern column, under Lieut.-Col. Steuart, which marched from Periapatam on the 1st, also crossed the Kaveri on the 2nd, after putting a body of the enemy to flight. On the following day a stockade of some strength, commanding the road, was carried after a slight resistance. On the 5th, the column advanced to Rajendrapett; skirmishing on its march with the Coorgs posted amidst the thickets, but without experiencing any serious loss. On the 6th, it rejoined Colonel Lindesay at the capital[1].

The western column, commanded by Colonel Foulis, moved from Cananore on the 30th March, and arrived on the 2nd April at a small river, driving across it a party of the enemy; in which service Lieutenant Erskine of his Majesty's 48th Regiment was killed. On the 3rd, the division experienced a resolute resistance, having to carry two strong stockades, and to dispute every foot of road up a narrow path, obstructed by felled trees and skirted by jungle. The troops bivouacked at the foot of the ascent to Hugal Ghat; the passage of which was effected on the 4th with considerable labour, but without further opposition[2]. On the 5th, the troops moved to Virarajendrapett, where they met Colonel Steuart's detachment. On the 7th, the force halted at Matra-

[1] No officers or men were killed in this division; a few only, privates, were wounded.

[2] The casualties were,—one officer, Lieutenant Erskine, and eleven privates, killed; two officers and thirty men, wounded.

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moody, within eight miles of the capital, now in the possession of Colonel Lindesay.

The northern column, under Colonel Waugh, was less successful than the preceding, and sustained a check, attended with heavy loss. Having entered the Coorg territory on the 1st of April, the division advanced to Rabata on the 2nd, through a difficult country, and harassed on the flanks and rear by parties of the enemy sheltered by the thickets: a breast-work on the summit of a steep ascent was carried with some loss; the Coorgs, commanded by Kongal Naik, one of the refractory Poligars of Terukeri, behaving with resolution. They then fell back to a still more defensible position —the pass of Bak—which, presenting almost insuperable natural obstacles, was rendered still more arduous by a series of formidable stockades. On the following day the force moved at daybreak, and after slowly winding its way up a steep ascent and through an almost impermeable forest, arrived about noon within a short distance of the works, which consisted of lateral palisades following the slope of the hill, and terminating near the summit in a strong transverse barrier. The side works were masked by large trees; the front had a space cleared, forming a sort of glacis—an enemy was therefore exposed as he advanced against it to a cross-fire in flank, as well as a direct discharge in front.

In order to avoid exposing the troops to the consequences of a forward movement, the advance, consisting of a detachment of H. M. 55th, and a party of the 31st Madras N. I. with pioneers, which had been reinforced with the light company of the

55th and the 9th N. I., was ordered to break off into two columns diverging to the right and left, through the forest, so as to assault the lateral stockades from the rear. After toiling with great labour through the thicket, the two parties, either from having missed their way, or from having been misled by the treachery of the guides, issued together on the same spot, within a short distance of the transverse barricade. They were allowed to approach it; but were then assailed by a murderous discharge, by which the foremost were knocked down. The two companies of the 55th and the detachment of the 31st, nevertheless, persisted in attempting to force their way through the barricades in front; but the enemy's fire became still more insupportable; and after suffering severely, the assailants were forced to retire. A reinforcement of the 55th was sent to their aid, and was accompanied by the commanding officer of the regiment, Colonel Mill. The troops again advanced to the principal barrier and endeavoured to carry it by escalade; but the attempt ended in the death or disabling of the assailants; and after a fruitless persistence in the attack, and the loss of many officers and men, the party was compelled to retreat. The Coorgs sallied forth in pursuit, and with their large knives despatched the wounded or wearied, whom they overtook, until the pursuit was checked by covering parties sent from the camp. In this unfortunate affair Colonel Mill of the 55th, Ensign Robertson of the 9th N. I., and Ensign Babington of the 31st N. I., and thirty-six non-commissioned officers and privates were killed, and six officers and one

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hundred and twenty men were wounded. In consequence of this repulse, Colonel Waugh deemed it expedient to fall back to Rabata, where the brigade remained encamped until the more fortunate movements of the successful columns had cleared the road for its advance to Madhukaira[1].

The Western Auxiliary column moved on the 29th March, and on the following day arrived at Komli, where it halted—having undergone unusual fatigue from the difficulties of the ascent. Resuming the advance, the column proceeded along the road to Belaripett, and on the 3rd April came in front of a strongly-stockaded post of the enemy. A party sent in advance to reconnoitre effected the object; but on its way back to camp was assailed from the cover of the dense jungle on either side by a destructive fire, to which no return could be made,

[1] Official despatch of Lieutenant-Colonel Waugh, Monthly Asiatic Journal, vol. XV., 86; also, Narrative of Captain Hutchinson, of the 31st, ibid. vol. XVI., 118. A narrative of the action is given in minute detail, and except with some questionable exhibitions of personal complacency, with every appearance of accuracy, by M. de Warren, who was personally engaged in it as a lieutenant of the 55th. According to him the failure was in a great degree owing to the injudicious precipitancy of the Brigadier, who ordered the attack to be made before the position had been sufficiently reconnoitred, and in opposition to the advice of the advance, and of Colonel Mill; and partly to the misconduct of the Sipahis of the 9th regiment. 'L'Inde Anglaise.' His estimate of the military character of the Sipahis, however, is extravagantly unjust; and his exemplification of their inferiority to Europeans, absurdly misinformed. After giving an exaggerated account of the part taken by the native troops in the discontents of their officers during the administration of Sir G. Barlow, he concludes—"Les quarante mille Cipayes, réunis par masses, vinrent se briser contre les cinque mille Européens dispersés. Après quelques combats qui coutèrent la vie à un grand nombre d'indigènes et à quelques officiers Anglais quand un bataillon de Cipayes en quarré eut été sabré par les dragons, deux ou trois autres exterminés par les détachemens royaux, tout dût rentrer dans l'ordre." "Facts," he remarks, "are stubborn things." There is not a single fact in this illustration of the comparative merits of the European and Native soldiery.—L'Inde Anglaise, tom. ii. p. 30.

as the Coorgs effectually screened themselves behind the bushes and among the trees. A detachment sent to the relief of the reconnoitring party returned with it to the encampment, but not until many casualties had occurred, and the Sipahis had become dispirited by experience of the disadvantages with which they would have to struggle in the rugged ascent and intricate thickets through which they would have to force their way, and the murderous bush-fighting of the Coorgs, to which they would be exposed with little chance of retaliation. The consequence was, the desertion of many of the native troops and of almost all the camp-followers, and the privation of the means of carrying the baggage and stores of the detachment. It was therefore thought advisable to retire to Padampalli, where supplies were expected. The forward movement was resumed on the 5th, and Colonel Jackson again encamped on the ground he had occupied on the 2nd, in advance of Komli, to which place however he once more retrograded, having suffered severe loss from the persevering attacks of the enemy, and anticipating their closing upon his rear and cutting off his communications[1]. No further attempt was made to enter Coorg in this direction. Neither was any impression made on the side of Wynad. On the contrary, the Coorgs assumed the offensive, and compelled Captain Minchin to fall back to the chief station Manantoddy, to protect it against their attacks. Hostilities had in the meantime

[1] In this affair the loss was thirty-three killed, and forty-one wounded, besides camp-followers. Amongst the former was Ensign Johnstone, 51st N. I. Despatches of Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, Komli, 11th April.—Monthly A. J. XV., 88.

BOOK III. CHAP. VII. been brought to a conclusion by the occupation of the capital.

1834. The spirit displayed by the inhabitants of Coorg in their resistance to a force which, from its numbers and discipline might have been expected at once to have overwhelmed an undisciplined and imperfectly armed handful of barbarians, and the success with which they repelled the attacks of so many of the divisions, were highly creditable to their nationality, and might suggest a suspicion that the Raja was less unpopular with his people than had been represented. Had he manifested the like courage, or shewn any military ability in availing himself of the natural defences of his country, the contest might have been more serious. The barriers on the east and west might have been found as impassable as those on the north; and the mountains and the hills of Coorg might have been defended until the unhealthiness of the advancing season had compelled the troops to quit the field, and afforded the Raja a chance of obtaining more favourable terms. Vira Rajendra, however, was unequal to the crisis he had provoked; and the occupation of Madhukaira was immediately followed by the surrender of its prince. He gave himself up unconditionally on the evening of the 10th, to Colonel Lindesay, and was detained a prisoner in his palace. He was afterwards removed with his family to Bangalore, and finally to Benares. The management of the province was consigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, as political agent, by whom the heads of the villages were assembled at Madhukaira and consulted with respect to the future administration. A

considerable number of them expressed a desire to be taken under the immediate authority of the British Government; and in compliance with their wishes, a proclamation was promulgated, announcing the resolution of the Governor-General, that the territory heretofore governed by Vira Rajendra Wudiyar should be transferred to the Company. The inhabitants were assured that they should not again be subjected to native rule — that their civil rights and religious usages should be respected—and that the greatest desire should invariably be shewn to augment their security, comfort, and happiness. How far these objects have been effected may admit of question; but the province has remained at peace, and the Coorgs have shewn no disposition to re-assert their independence.

After the close of the Coorg campaign, the Governor-General proceeded from Bangalore to the Nilgheri hills for the re-establishment of his health; and while at Uttakamund was joined by Sir Frederick Adams, the Governor of Madras, Colonel Morrison, appointed to the Supreme Council, and Mr. Macaulay, who had been nominated fourth or legislative member of Council, under the arrangements adopted in England for the future Government of British India. To these we shall have occasion to recur: such of them as affected the organisation of the general administration, the establishment of one Supreme Government of India, vested in the person of the Governor-General; and the constitution of a new Presidency, that of Agra were announced to the public in a proclamation dated the 10th July. The execution

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of the latter arrangement was suspended until the return of Lord William Bentinck to Bengal, which took place at the end of the year. The other proceedings of the Governor-General at Uttakamund were chiefly directed to the reduction of the expenses of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, which still continued to exceed their resources. Authoritative promulgation was also given to those provisions of the new Charter, which relieved Europeans from the disabilities under which their settlement had been hitherto impeded, and allowed them to acquire a proprietary right to landed property. A partial relaxation of the prohibitory regulations had been previously effected by Lord W. Bentinck; and they had been permitted to hold lands on a protracted lease. They were now freed from all material restraints; and the result has shown how little was ever to have been apprehended from the privilege: very few individuals have availed themselves of the permission; Europeans in India rarely possessing either the inclination to invest capital in landed property, or the capital by which alone such property is to be acquired.

CHAPTER VIII.

Relations with Native States,—Abandonment of Protective Policy,—System of Non-interference,—partial and mischievous Operation,—Interference authorised with Extra-Indian States,—Inconsistency—and consequences.—King of Delhi sends an Agent to England.—The Governor-General declines an Interview.—Assassination of Mr. Fraser.—Punishment of the Murderers.—Affairs of Oude.—Guarantee of the Person and Property of the Minister,—continued in Office by the new King for a short time,—Dismissal and Demands against him,—allowed to retire to Cawnpore,—his Death.—Conduct of the King.—Appointment of Hakim Mehdi.—Salutary Reforms,—not considered sufficient.—King threatened with Deposal,—Resident not to interfere,—Solicitations of the Minister.—Progress of Reform.—Intrigues against Hakim Mehdi,—his Dismissal.—Conditional Instructions to assume the Government,—their Enforcement suspended.—Death of the Nizam.—His Successor requires the Removal of the British Officers.—Decline of the Country.—Affairs of Palmer and Co.—Differences between the Directors and the Board of Control.—Writ of Mandamus.—Bhopal.—Disputes between the Begum and the young Nawab,—the latter set aside in favour of his Brother.—The Begum unwilling to relinquish

her Power.—Nawab appeals to the Governor-General—has recourse to Arms,—final Success.—States of Ghaffur Khan and Amir Khan.—Visit of Amir Khan to the Camp of the Governor-General at Ajmer.—New Policy towards the States on the Indus.—Origin in England.—Commercial Treaties.—Interview with Ranjit Sing.—Unsuccessful Attempt of Shah Shuja to recover Kabul.—Relations with the Mahrattas.—Nagpur prosperous under British Management,—transferred to the Raja.—Apa Saheb in Jodhpur.—Relaxation of Control over the Gaekwar.—Misgovernment of Syaji,—Quarrels with the Resident,—Districts sequestrated,—restored to him.—State of Indore. Defects in the Character of Holkar,—his Death.—Adoption of Martand Rao.—Government seized by Hari Holkar,—acknowledged as Raja.—Disputes at Gwalior.—Insurrection of the Soldiery in favour of the Raja.—Baizi Bai obliged to retire from Gwalior.—Settled in the Dekhin.—Result of British Policy.—Relations with the Rajput States.—Kota.—Disputes between the Rao and the Raj Rana.—Final Partition.—Bundi Family Dissensions.—Murder of the Minister.—Party from Jodhpur attacked.—Interference of the Political Agent.—Decline of Udaypur upon withdrawal of Interference.—Outrages of the Minas of Chappan checked.—Renewed Insurrection of the Grasias,—Exertions of the Superintendent,—Order re-established.—Death of the Rana Bhim Sing,—succeeded by his Son.—Jodhpur.—Disputes between Man Sing and his Chiefs.—Management of Mherwara.—Chiefs invite Dhokal Sing,—

his Progress.—Raja alarmed.—British Government interferes,—cautious Character of Interference,—Mediation accepted.—Secret Hostility of Man Sing, he favours and shelters Marauders.—Force collected against Jodhpur.—Man Sing, alarmed,—submits to all demands.—Jaypur,—long and uneasy Intercourse.—Influence of Jota Ram and Rupá Bhandarin.—Dislike by the Regent Rani of the Manager Bhyri Sal,—his Removal.—Doubts of the Existence of the young Raja.—Return of Jota Ram.—Sentiments of the Chiefs in favour of the Regent-Mother.—Public Appearance of the Raja.—Unpopular Measures of Jota Ram.—Discontent of the Chiefs.—Inveterate Animosity of Jota Ram to Bhyri Sal,—Efforts against him,—frustrated by British Guarantee.—Death of the Dowager Rani.—Force sent into Shekhawat.—Forts destroyed.—Raja protests against the Expedition,—his sudden Illness and Death.—Universal Suspicion.—Resignation of Jota Ram,—and Removal of Rupá.—Political Agent sent to Jáypur.—Bhyri Sal, Manager.—Attack on the Agent, and Murder of Mr. Blake,—traced to Jota Ram,—who is imprisoned for life.—Murderers punished.—Council of Regency under general Control of the Resident.—Evils of Non-Interference in regard to secondary Rajput States,—necessarily resumed.—Sirodhi Frontier.—Adjustment of disputes between Bhikaner, Jesselmer and Bahawalpur.

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THE intercourse maintained with the Native States in alliance with the British Government of India during the period under review, presents an

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unfavourable picture of the results of the policy pursued by the latter—the decline of that salutary influence which it had at first exerted for the maintenance of public tranquillity, and a tendency to a revival of those disorders which had occasioned so much misery and desolation in Central Hindustan. For a short interval after the close of the Pindari campaign, the ascendancy acquired by the British power, and the subordination of several of the princes whom it had seated on their thrones, and whom, in the immaturity of their years or their sovereignty, it was bound to protect, neither excited any discontent among the native states nor disquieted the consciences of the authorities in England, usually haunted by the dread of extending the British territory beyond the limits which were set to it by the wisdom of Parliament. But with the consolidation of the supremacy, the apprehension of its visionary evils recurred; and in a short time instructions were reiterated to the local governments, to withdraw from all interference with the native princes, beyond such as was indispensable for the realisation of the tributes they were bound by treaty to pay, or to prevent them from going to war with each other, and to leave them to the independent and uncontrolled exercise of their power in the administration of their own affairs. However mischievous the consequences, and although engendering within their respective dominions tumult, anarchy, and civil war, non-interference was to be the rule of the policy which was to be followed by the Governor-General. The interposition of the British Government was

to be restricted to the vindication of its own pecuniary claims; and the character of an importunate and self-interested creditor was to be substituted for that of a benevolent and powerful protector. These instructions were promptly attended to, particularly by Lord W. Bentinck, who entertained the like views of the expedience of abstaining from interference with native rule. It was found, however, to be extremely difficult to desist from intervention. The protection of the British dominions from the contagion of contiguous disorder, the rescue of friendly princes from the effects of their own misconduct, the impossibility of looking on unconcerned whilst a tributary or ally was hastening to destruction, and the necessary assertion of its own dignity and authority, compelled the reluctant Government of India to interpose frequently, both with council and with arms, and placed its conduct in constant contrast to its professions. Inconsistency was therefore the main characteristic of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in its transactions with the native principalities beyond its own borders; and while it subjected them to perplexity and embarrassment, it impaired the consideration and weakened the reliance which they had hitherto entertained on its purposes and its power. Nor was this inconsistency restricted to the local Government. While urging the principle of non-interference as regarded the princes of India, the authorities in England, induced by considerations foreign to the interests of British India and originating in the jealousies of European cabinets, impelled the Indian Government into a course of

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interference which it had hitherto carefully avoided, and opened sources of danger and disaster which its own prudence would have shunned. The same policy that was disposed to consign Malwa and Rajputana to the renewed horrors of the predatory system, commanded the Governor-General to carry his negotiations across the Indus, and to establish new relations with Sindh and Afghanistan. The inconsistency was severely punished; but the results belong to a subsequent period. We have now only to notice the political relations that were maintained between the Native States of Upper India and the British Government, to the close of Lord W. Bentinck's Administration.

Upon adverting in the first place to the Mohammedan powers, we find that no change had been made in the position of the king of Delhi, whose dissatisfaction was still kept alive by the non-compliance of the Government with his application for an augmented stipendiary grant. Finding the Government immoveable, His Majesty had appealed to the authorities in England, and had deputed the celebrated Rammohun Roy[1] to advocate his cause. As

[1] Rammohun Roy was a Brahman, of the most respectable or Kulin tribe of Bengal, and was born in 1780, in the province of Burdwan. His father and grandfather had held office under the Nawabs of Bengal; and in contemplation of a similar destination, Rammohun Roy was early instructed in Persian and Arabic, and being of a contemplative and inquiring turn, was led by the study of the Koran to look with aversion on the polytheism and idolatry of his countrymen. To his Mohammedan studies, he added the acquirement of Sanscrit and English; and as he grew to manhood, he entered into the service of the Government as a writer in the office of the Collector of Rungpore, rising rapidly to the post of Dewan, or Head Native Assistant and Treasurer. In attracting the esteem of his superior, Mr. Digby, his familiar intercourse with that gentleman confirmed him in his distaste for the religion of his forefathers, and in his desire to awaken his countrymen to a sense of the degrading character of their superstitious belief.

this mission had not been communicated to the Governor-General, and had been consequently unsanctioned, the character of Rammohun Roy as the Agent of the King, was not recognised in England; and his advocacy was unavailing. To mark the displeasure of the Government, Lord William Bentinck, on his arrival at Delhi, in his visit to the Upper Provinces, declined the usual

Retiring from public life at an early age, he settled at Calcutta in 1814, and employed himself in endeavouring to disseminate the doctrines of faith in one sole Supreme Being. The plan he adopted for this purpose, in addition to his personal teaching, was the publication of portions of the Vedas and of Vedanta tracts in Sanscrit, Bengali, and English, in which the unity of God was inculcated, and a spiritual form of worship was enjoined; thus endeavouring to establish a Deistical religion by authorities recognised as sacred by the Hindus themselves. Some converts were made, chiefly among the opulent and educated classes of Calcutta; and an impulse was given which has contributed materially to their enlightenment. Falling in with Unitarian Christians, Rammohun Roy adopted in some degree their tenets, and in their defence engaged in an unprofitable controversy with the Missionaries of Serampore, which diverted him from the more useful task of Hindu reform. He did not, however, wholly abandon the cause; but was always among the foremost in advocating measures for the intellectual and moral advancement of his countrymen, as was shewn in the zeal with which he supported the abolition of the rite of Suttee. Entertaining a strong desire to visit Europe, he rather ill-advisedly undertook the office of agent of the king of Delhi, with whom he could have had no sympathy, and whom interested motives alone could have tempted him to serve; and in that capacity repaired to England, where he arrived in 1831. He was received with much consideration by the Court of Directors, and by persons of rank and public importance, and attracted general admiration by the courteousness of his manners, the extent of his information, and the acuteness of his understanding. His partial adoption of Unitarian doctrines led him into a close intimacy with persons of that persuasion, but he never became a member of their church; and his mind retained to the last the colouring with which it had been imbued by the Monotheism of the Koran. His views of society also connected him, at first, with the liberal party, and he manifested a warm interest in the question of Parliamentary reform; but he lived long enough in England to detect the hollowness of party professions, and to regret his having been cheated into a belief of their sincerity. Had he returned to Bengal, his country would have reaped the benefit of his larger experience and corrected impressions; but he was unfortunately attacked by a fever which proved fatal; and he died at Bristol, in September 1833.—'Personal knowledge.'

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interchange of complimentary visits, and passed on towards the mountains without holding an interview with the king. An addition to the pension was sanctioned by the Home authorities, on condition that the king should refrain from urging his pretensions to the revenue of the reserved districts; but as he hesitated to accede to the stipulation, the increased allowance was not granted.

At a subsequent date, the city of Delhi was the scene of an outrage of an unusual description, and of an act of retributive justice, unprecedented in the annals of British Indian judicature. Ahmed Buksh Khan, the Nawab of Firozpur, of whom mention has been already made, was succeeded by his eldest son, Shams-ud-din Khan, as Nawab. The district of Loharu had been set apart as the appanage of his two younger brothers; and they succeeded to its independent administration. The apportionment was disputed by the Nawab; and as the district appeared to be mismanaged, the Government resolved that it should be placed under the charge of Shams-ud-din; who was to allow his brothers a pension proportioned to the nett revenue of Loharu. This decision was objected to by Mr. Fraser, the Political Commissioner and Agent of the Governor-General at Delhi; and the transfer was delayed for further consideration. The family dissensions had instilled feelings of inveterate animosity in both parties, but more especially in the Nawab, who considered that the justice of his claim had been sanctioned by the supreme authority, and was, therefore, no longer liable to be disputed. Regarding Mr. Fraser as the sole

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obstacle to his being put in possession of the disputed lands, and listening only to his vindictive resentment, he employed an assassin to take away the life of the Commissioner. He had no difficulty in finding a willing instrument among his retainers; and by one of these, Mr. Fraser, when returning on horseback to his residence from a visit to the city, was shot. The murderer at first effected his escape, but was eventually seized and subjected to trial before one of the judges of the Sudder Nizamat of Allahabad, Mr. Colvin, who had been deputed to Delhi to conduct the trial. The guilt of the assassin was fully proved, and he suffered the penalty of the law. The participation of the Nawab having been substantiated by the evidence against his emissary, Shams-ud-din was also brought to trial and convicted, and, notwithstanding his rank, hanged as a common malefactor. Although no doubt existed of the guilt of both of the culprits, the Mohammedan population of Delhi evinced a general sympathy for their fate, and regarded them with almost as profound a veneration as if they had fallen martyrs in the cause of their religion[1].

During the life of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, the heir apparent to the throne of Oude had been at violent feud with his father's favourite minister Aga Mir, Moatemmed-ud-dowla, and although the breach was apparently healed, and a reconciliation was effected before the demise of the king, the latter fearing that, after his death, the minister would be

[1] A particular account of this transaction is given by Lieut-Colonel Sleeman in his "Rambles and Recollections," vol. ii. p. 209.

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the object of his successor's persecution, contrived to obtain the express guarantee of the British Government for the security of his person and property; advancing, on this condition, a crore of rupees, as a loan to the Company in perpetuity; the interest, five per cent., being paid to different dependants of his Majesty, including Moatemed-ud-dowla, to whom about a half of the income was appropriated. The new monarch, Nasir-ud-din Hyder, appeared at first disposed to forget the animosity of the prince, and, retaining Moatemed-ud-dowla in office, treated him with marked kindness and profuse liberality. As soon, however, as he was satisfied that the British Government would not interfere with his choice of a minister, and that he might safely follow his own inclinations[1], he threw off the mask—dismissed Moatemed-ud-dowla from his office, and demanded from him the repayment of the sums of which it was alleged he had defrauded the treasury, and for which his property was responsible. The Minister appealed to the British Government; and although it was resolved that he should be made to account for the public money which had come into his hands subsequently to the accession of Nasir-ud-din, before permission was granted him to withdraw into the Company's territories; yet the immunity which had been guaranteed to him was to be maintained for all the measures of his administration under the late king, whose confidence had never been withheld from

[1] He is said to have ascertained this more particularly from a private interview with Lord Combermere on his visit to Lucknow in 1828, on which occasion the king was very urgent that Aga Mir should be privately arrested and shipped for England.

him, and whose concurrence in his proceedings had stamped them with regal sanction. As the object of the reigning sovereign was the entire ruin of the obnoxious minister, he warmly protested against this decision, and instituted a series of vexatious proceedings to gratify his vindictive purposes. The project was steadily resisted; and after a prolonged and troublesome discussion, and a most laborious investigation of all the pecuniary demands preferred against the ex-minister, he was suffered to retire into the territories of the Company; being still held responsible for any claims which might finally be substantiated. A military escort was necessary to protect his person and family against the vengeance of the king; and under its protection, in October 1830, he quitted Lucknow and the hope of restoration to power, for the humbler but safer enjoyments of private life at Cawnpore. He did not long survive his downfall, dying at that station in May 1832, evidently pining for the cares and excitement of office[2]. That he had been guilty of peculation and oppression to

[2] An interesting account of his last days is given by Dr. Spry, who was for some time his medical attendant.—Modern India, i. 246. Aga Mir succeeded to the office of minister early in the reign of Ghazi-ud-din, and although of humble origin was not unworthy of his elevation. He was a man of quick apprehension and acute intellect, and exhibited great address. While never losing sight of his own interests, he maintained for many years the ascendancy over his master, and his influence in the court of Lucknow. He uniformly opposed the projects of reform proposed by the British Government; yet managed to continue on good terms with its representatives, and in general to make them subservient to his purposes. In the communications with the British Government, which bore either his own signature or the king's, and which in either case were probably of his dictation, he appears to great advantage, and generally has the best of the argument.

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an enormous extent was undoubted; and the British Government, fettered by the guarantee which it had injudiciously given him, rendered itself liable to the charge of being accessory to a system of both public and private spoliation. It was not, however, to punish extortion or to redress wrongs, that the king pursued his minister's offences; it was merely to satiate personal hatred, which was to be appeased only by the destruction and probably the death of Moatemed-ud-dowla. The dismissal of the minister was far from conducive to the improvement of the administration. The king declared it to be his intention to become his own minister; but, ignorant of affairs, and addicted to dissolute habits, the effect of this determination was to throw the power into the hands of disreputable and incompetent persons, the associates of his dissipation, or ministers of his vices; and as venal as inefficient. Their unfitness for the duties entrusted to them was so palpable and mischievous, that the Resident was instructed to decline any communication with the king through their instrumentality, and to refrain from all intercourse until a respectable and responsible minister should be nominated. After much hesitation, Nasir-ud-din recalled the minister whom his father had discarded in favour of Aga Mir, and invited Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan to quit his asylum at Furrakhabad, and resume the conduct of public affairs. The Resident, Mr. Maddock, opposed his elevation, under an impression that Hakim Mehdi was decidedly inimical to the British alliance; but the Government, anticipating important benefits from his acknowledged

abilities, concurred in his nomination[1]. His restoration to power was followed by measures of a beneficial tendency. The finances were improved, the expenses diminished, the corrupt practices, which had diverted a large portion of the public receipts into the hands of individual courtiers, or the inmates of the Harem, were checked; and the system of farming the revenue was exchanged, as opportunity offered, for direct collection by officers appointed by the minister — an arrangement which had been vainly urged upon the two last princes of Oude. These reforms were not, however, capable of immediate influence, nor could they be carried into effect without considerable opposition. The state of the kingdom was therefore slowly ameliorated; and, according to the report of the Resident, it had reached so incurable a stage of decline, that nothing but the assumption of the administration for a season could preserve it from utter ruin[2]. Although differing from Mr. Maddock in his estimate of the character and intentions of the minister, the Governor-General concurred in his views of the necessity of interference; and, in April 1831, when at Lucknow, on his visit to the Upper Provinces, the king was distinctly apprised by Lord W. Bentinck, in a speech composed for the occasion and afterwards communicated in writing, that, unless his territories were governed upon other principles than those hitherto followed, and the prosperity of the people made the principal object of his administration, the precedents

[1] Minute of Lord W. Bentinck on the Affairs of Oude.—Report, Committee House of Commons, Political Appendix.

[2] Memorandum on Oude Affairs, by Mr. Maddock. Report, Comm. House of Commons, Political Appendix, VI., No. 28.

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afforded by the principalities of the Dekhin, the Carnatic and Tanjore, would be applied to the kingdom of Oude; the entire management of the country would be vested in British functionaries; and the sovereign would be transmuted into a pensioner of the State. These menaces stimulated the minister to more energetic efforts, and intimidated the king into a temporary acquiescence; but, after a while, the impression on the mind of the latter became less vivid, and the measures of Hakim Mehdi were obstructed by the same sinister influence by which they were formerly impeded. In this difficulty, he applied to the Resident for counsel and support, and the application was ostensibly repeated by the king. With admirable inconsistency, the Resident was restricted from compliance. The principle of non-interference was pleaded as the ground of the refusal; and the Cabinet of Lucknow, while made responsible to a foreign functionary for the consequences of its domestic policy, was forbidden to expect any assistance from him in averting their occurrence. It was in vain that Hakim Mehdi appealed to the engagement entered into with Lord Wellesley, binding the British Government to afford its counsel and advice; and argued that from the recent language of the Governor-General, it was to be concluded that the obligation was still in force. It was in vain, also, that he maintained that by holding back when the Native Government was anxious to advance, the British Government took upon itself the responsibility of continued maladministration, "for he" observed Hakim Mehdi, "who sees a blind man on

the edge of a precipice, and will not put forth a hand to hold him back, is not innocent of his destruction." The Governor-General was not a man to be easily moved from a position he had once taken up; and the principle of non-interference for any friendly purpose, was rigorously prohibited. At the same time, reports most unfavourable to the condition of Oude, were transmitted to the authorities at home; and they were recommended to adopt, eventually, one of three courses:—to withdraw the subsidiary force and the Resident, and leave the country to the uncontrolled dominion of the Sovereign; to impose upon the latter a minister, selected by the British Government, and appoint British Officers to superintend the conduct of the native functionaries, as had been done at Hyderabad; or to take the entire government of the country, as at Nagpore. In the meantime, however, it was proposed to give the actual minister a fair trial; as there was no doubt of his abilities, whatever might be entertained of his integrity or public spirit[1].

Although recourse to such a violent mode of cure might have been justified by the supposed extremity of the case; yet, as we have already had occasion to observe, it may be questioned, if the case was as hopeless as had been represented. The misrule of native princes was no novelty in the history of India; but the deplorable accounts of its effects in Oude, seem to have been repeated without sufficient investigation. That the Sovereign was dissipated and prodigal—that his favourites, whether in the

[1] Minute of Lord W. Bentinck.—Political Records, etc.

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interior of his palace, or in his court, were extravagant and corrupt — that the police was lax and inefficient — that the system of farming the revenues, and intrusting the farmers with discretional power, was pregnant with gross abuses, and productive of exaction and oppression — that the landholders were driven by it to occasional resistance, which the unaided force of the Government was unable to overcome — and that in many parts, particularly on the borders, bands of marauders plundered the peaceable inhabitants both of Oude and the territories of the Company with impunity — all these things might be perfectly true: but it did not, therefore, follow that the people at large were intolerably burthened, or that the country was in a state of irremediable anarchy or incurable decline. We have evidence to the contrary; and the frequent assertions of ocular witnesses are on record, that Oude was in as prosperous a condition as the Company's own provinces[1]; and that, what-

[1] Bishop Heber, in 1824, vol. i. 374, 403, repeatedly expresses his surprise at finding the country so much better cultivated than he had expected to find it, after the accounts of its mis-government with which he had been familiar. Ten years later, in 1833, Mr. Shore remarks, "I have travelled over several parts of Oude, and can testify, as far as my own observation went, that it is fully cultivated according to the population. Between Cawnpore and Lucknow, numbers must daily pass, who can confirm or deny this statement. Let them declare if any portion of land there lies waste which is fit for cultivation. I have known many officers who have been stationed at Sitapoor, and have made excursions into the neighbouring parts: without an exception, they describe the country as a garden. In the number of cattle, horses, and goods which they possess, and in the appearance of their houses and clothes, the people are in no points worse (in many, better) off than our own subjects. The wealth of Lucknow, not merely of those in authority, but the property of the bankers and shopkeepers is far superior to that of any city (Calcutta, perhaps, excepted) in the British dominions. How can all this be the case, if the Government is notorious for tyranny and oppression?"—Notes on Indian Affairs, by the Hon. F. I. Shore, i. 156.—There is much

ever grievances the people might endure, they considered them light in comparison with the unrelenting pressure of the revenue system of their neighbours, or the wearisome and vexatious processes of their Courts of Justice. Certain it is, that the subjects of the King of Oude never shewed any disposition to seek a refuge from their miseries in the contiguous districts under British rule, and that the tide of emigration, so far as it influenced the undulation of the population was more inclined to set in an opposite direction. At any rate, whatever might be the condition of the people, and however susceptible it might be of alleviation, there was no reason to believe that its improvement was alone to be secured by their transfer to foreign domination. The Governor-General had the power by treaty, and the right, to dictate to the Government of Oude the course to be followed. The right was not only recognised, but its exercise was requested; and yet, with a strange and incongruous perversity, the interference was withheld, as if it had been the policy of the British Government to create, by non-interference for preservation, a crisis which should

more to the same effect, which is deserving of attention. On the other hand, Mr. Maddock reports the country to be fast falling into a state of ruin and bankruptcy, and describes in detail the extortion, corruption, and insubordination which the farming system involves. These are, however, of a general nature, and except in the diminution of the revenue to two-thirds of its preceding amount, we have no positive indication of results. He is obliged to admit that "some parts of Oude are in a high and beautiful state of cultivation, while others are deserted and overgrown with jungle." Even his general denunciations are apparently not founded on personal knowledge, and are qualified as if based upon report. No doubt there was grievous misgovernment; but it loses none of its intensity in the pictures of official reprehension.—Memorandum on Oude Affairs — and Abstract View as gathered from Persian Papers by Mr. Maddock.

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warrant its interfering for the total subversion of the sovereignty.

The consequences of refusing to support the salutary reforms of Hakim Mehdi were soon apparent. The numerous and influential enemies which they had engendered recovered their uncontrolled ascendancy over the feeble mind of the King, and induced him to withdraw his confidence from his minister. The latter, disdaining to conciliate the good will of the Begums and the Courtiers, provoked their enmity by the disrespectful terms in which he spoke of them, as much as by the economy in their expenditure which he attempted to enforce; and they desisted not from their opposition until they had prevailed upon the King to dismiss him. The Resident, Major Low, endeavoured to dissuade the King from his purpose, and accomplished a temporary restoration of Hakim Mehdi to favour. The reconciliation was not of long continuance: the intrigues of his adversaries ultimately prevailed; and the minister was not only dismissed from office but was detained at Lucknow to answer numerous charges of fraud and peculation, which the instruments of his opponents were suborned to bring against him. As these were proved to be false and unfounded, the King was persuaded by the British Resident to desist from his detention; and Hakim Mehdi was allowed to return to the security and quiet of his former residence, at Furrakhabad[1]. All hope of permanent

[1] The retirement of Hakim Mehdi was followed by a circumstance characteristic of the progressive extension of European usages and notions, even among natives grown old in a very dissimilar state of society. He published in a local newspaper, the Mofussil Akhbar,

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improvement departed with him. He was succeeded in office by Roshan-ud-dowla, a person of respectability, but of little talent, and unused to business; and the real authority devolved on the personal favourites and associates of the king, who were recommended to him chiefly by their subservience to his passions, and participation in his excesses. The impulse, however, which had been given by the menaces of the British Government and the corresponding reforms of Hakim Mehdi was not wholly extinct; and although the character of Nasir-ud-din became every day more and more an object of contempt, yet the general aspect of the affairs of Oude was such as to authorise the Governor-General's refraining from acting upon instructions, received in the beginning of 1835, to assume the government of the country, if circumstances should render such a measure necessary. The Court of Oude was apprised that such instructions had arrived; but that their execution was suspended, in the hope that the necessity of enforcing them might be obviated by the spontaneous adoption of the requisite reforms. The hope has not been realised, nor has the penalty been inflicted. The kingdom of Oude remains under the direction of a government, of which it may be justly asserted that it is not worse than native rule in general; and that, while it is discredited by many great and inherent defects, it has also its compensations, in its exemption from many of the evils which

an appeal to the public in defence of his administration and a vindication of his integrity. The document is curious, and is given in the Appendix V.

BOOK III. CHAP. VIII. are equally inseparable from the sovereignty of strangers.

1828-35. The death of the Nizam, Sikandar Jah, and the accession of his eldest son under the title of Nazim-ud-Dowla, produced a material change in the relations which had been latterly established with Hyderabad. One of the first measures of the new sovereign was to require the removal of the British officers who had been appointed to superintend the assessments, as he declared it to be his determination to manage his own affairs; and, as the interference to which he objected had occasioned both embarrassment and a deficiency of revenue. Consistently with the principles now in favour with the Government of Bengal, this determination was approved of, and the Nizam was informed that it was the wish of the Governor-General that he should consider himself entirely uncontrolled in the choice of his ministers and the conduct of his internal administration; stipulating only that the engagements which had been contracted under the sanction of British officers should not be violated. To this a ready assent was promised; but the promise was little regarded. Chandu Lal, from his experience and ability, was too necessary to be discarded; and the system of exaction and prodigality which he had countenanced underwent no material modification. The expenditure was undiminished, and the embarrassment of the finances unrelieved. The engagements with the villagers were set aside, and recourse was again had to the farming of the revenues, with its usual consequences of injustice and extortion—the multiplication of robbers and plunderers, and the resistance

of the most turbulent of the Zemindars to the equitable demands of the state, requiring for their suppression the employment of a military force. In the course of a very few years, the country had relapsed into the condition from which it had been endeavoured to raise it in the preceding reign; and the Home authorities intimated a disposition to extend to Hyderabad the appropriative policy with which Oude had been menaced. It was not thought advisable, however, to resort to such an extremity, or to extend the scale of interference.

The pecuniary dealings of the house of Palmer and Company with the Government of the Nizam, which had excited so much interest during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, continued for several years to occupy the attention of the authorities both in England and in India; and in the former, led eventually to an unusual collision, and an appeal to the Courts of Justice. The opinion given by the Twelve Judges that the limitation of the rate of interest prescribed by Act of Parliament, did not apply to loans made to the subjects of Native independent princes by British subjects domiciliated and residing within their dominions, materially altered the position of the house, and authorized their claiming the full amount of both principal and interest due to them by native debtors[1]. Their accounts with the Nizam had been closed by the acquittal of the demands against him by the money advanced to the minister, in redemption of

[1] The opinion was communicated by the Court to the Bengal Government in a letter, dated 3rd August, 1825; and by the Government to the Resident at Hyderabad, 27th July, 1826.

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the tribute of the northern Circars, payable to the Nizam; but there remained claims of large amount upon persons of rank and influence in the Court of Hyderabad, which the trustees of the late firm were now at liberty to prosecute before the native tribunals. The Resident was, however, still wholly prohibited from exercising in any way his official influence, either for or against the prosecution of any claim which they might advance on individual subjects of the Nizam, and from being in any manner the channel of communication between them and such individuals[1]. A few years afterwards, a more lenient view of the case was taken up by the Court. Doubts were expressed, whether the relation in which the trustees stood towards the debtors of the firm had not been deteriorated by the use which had been made of the opinions originally expressed, and by the interdiction of the Resident from giving any facility to the recovery of claims at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent. per annum either retrospectively or prospectively, a prohibition made known to the Government of the Nizam and consequently to the members of his family and court, who were debtors to the house, and who were likely to avail themselves of so palpable a plea for refusing to fulfil their *bonâ fide* obligations[2]. In order to counteract such possible impressions, the members

[1] Political Despatch, 12th March, 1828.

[2] In a letter from Munir-al-Mulk, one of the principal debtors to the House, to Chandu Lal, he writes—"If the order prohibiting any money transactions with them and the proclamation describing the claims as void had not arrived, my debt to them would have been completely and fully paid; but how could I, in defiance of the prohibition and of such a proclamation, pay them." Papers on the Writ of Mandamus, p. 42.

of the house were relieved from a preceding prohibition against a direct intercourse with the ministers of the Nizam, and were allowed to have access to them with the knowledge and sanction of the Resident. Sir William Rumbold was also permitted to return to Hyderabad to assist the trustees in winding up the affairs of the house, in which he had been a partner. These arrangements were considered successful, according to the official report of the Resident, whatever unfavourable impressions might have at first been produced; as was evidenced by the result which had attended the proceedings of the trustees, and the award to them of considerable sums of money through the instrumentality of the Courts of Justice in Hyderabad, including interest at the rate of twenty-four per cent. per annum.

Notwithstanding the decisions of the Native Courts in their favour, the Trustees found that the sentences were but partially enforced, the Courts of Justice being powerless against individuals connected with the minister or the Nizam. This was particularly the case in regard to Munir-al-Mulk, the kinsman and nominal minister of the Nizam; against whom very large claims, arising chiefly out of the high rate of compound interest, had accumulated, and whose liquidation of them in full could not be expected, except through the influential interposition of the British Resident with the Nizam. This interference, however, the Government declined to sanction; and the only alternative adopted, was a reference to the Court of Directors, for their instructions as to whether any and what measures

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were to be adopted for the purpose of effecting a settlement of the claims in question[1]. In the meantime, the matter had been the subject of a difference of opinion between the Court and the Board of Control. A draft of a letter had been prepared by the former, under date, 23rd July, 1830, disapproving of some of the measures of the Bengal Government in favour of Sir Wm. Rumbold. It was essentially altered by the Board; and a despatch was substituted, authorising the Resident's support of the claims of the firm. To this the Court, in their turn, decidedly objected. The receipt of the reference noticed above, as well as of other despatches connected with the same subject, furnishing an opportunity of re-considering the question, the Board withdrew their emendations, and directed the Court to prepare a new draft in lieu of that formerly submitted, which should reply to the several unanswered communications from Bengal.

In compliance with this injunction, a letter was prepared on the 20th March, 1832, in which the Government of Bengal was authorised to express to the Nizam, through the Resident at Hyderabad, its wish that the claims upon Munir-al-Mulk should be settled by arbitration, upon principles, regarding the limitation of interest, formerly determined, and upon a previously obtained assurance from the Nizam that he would enforce an equitable award. The constitution of the arbitration was to be left to the discretion of the local government. This draft underwent the fate of its

[1] Political Letter from Bengal, 8th July, 1831.

predecessor; and in its place a despatch was written, in which it was stated, that the joint interposition of the Government of Bengal and the Nizam would be requisite to bring the matter in dispute to a final settlement, which should be effected either by arbitration (the umpire being nominated by the Governor-General), or by a commission to be equally appointed by the Supreme Government. The choice between the two arrangements was to be given to the Nizam; but his prior engagement to carry the decision of either into effect was to be required, and the Resident was to be instructed to press upon his Highness, in terms of urgent recommendation, the justice and expediency of his resolving to enforce the final award. Some verbal alterations of the letter were subsequently made; and it was added, that the interference was not to be carried beyond sincere and urgent recommendation, which it would be perfectly competent to the Nizam to adopt or reject; and that the motive of the interference was the conviction that the home authorities had, however unintentionally, arrested the earlier settlement of the claim of the house by the promulgation of an erroneous opinion. This circumstance imposed an obligation to endeavour to repair to the parties, as far as possible, the injury inflicted on them; and, in this attempt, it was not too much to ask of the Nizam to grant that which with strict propriety he was able to give, and without which every effort would be unavailing—the advantages of his co-operation. The proposed despatch was decidedly objected to by the Court. They maintained that they were not

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responsible for the erroneousness of an opinion which had emanated from the high legal authorities consulted; and if any detriment had at first accrued to the claims of the firm, this had been fully remedied by the publicity given to the different sentiments of the judges, under which extensive claims had been actually realised. If the decrees of the native Courts could not always be enforced, this was a state of things well known to the parties concerned, and was in fact the only justification of the exorbitant rates of interest prevailing, which were of course intended to cover more than ordinary risk. To employ the authoritative interference of the British Government in the realisation of the claims of its own subjects upon the subjects of an independent prince and ally, was contrary to the principles of the Indian Governments, and the practice of all civilised states; and the use of strong and urgent recommendations, however qualified, was, with respect to the relations established with the Nizam, equivalent to imperative dictation. Such protection, granted to British subjects in their pecuniary dealings with natives of rank, could only lead to the most mischievous results, such as had been fully experienced in regard to the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore; and, on these and other grounds, the Court suggested to the Board the annulment of their alterations. As these objections were disregarded, they endeavoured to evade the Board's corrections by denying its right to interfere; the despatch relating neither to the military nor civil government nor to the revenues of India, to which the controlling powers of the

Board were alone applicable. Considering it also to be inexpedient to interfere in any way with the matter under consideration, they determined to rescind the resolution under which the original despatch was prepared, and to withdraw it altogether. Strong protests were recorded against a resolution which was so utterly inconsistent with the whole course of past proceedings, and which attempted to avoid the honest expression of opinions conscientiously and rationally entertained; but the resolution was carried. It was, however, of little avail. The Board had recourse to the power vested in them by law, and applied to the Court of King's Bench for the issue of a writ of mandamus, compelling the Directors of the East India Company to transmit the despatch to India. The question was argued before the Court at considerable length, and the writ was granted[1]. The Court was, consequently, under the necessity of signing and forwarding the contested letter, as finally amended by the Board[2].

The objections taken by the Directors to the interference sanctioned by the Board of Control, were founded on just views of the evils which had been suffered by the natives of India from

[1] 29th January, 1833. Papers, pp. 55, 58, 107, 111.

[2] A strong protest against the despatch was signed by ten of the members of the Court, arguing that the proposed interference was contrary to the faith of treaties—the practice of the Court—of former Governments of Bengal, the substantial justice of the case, and the right use which should be made of the past experience of the House. The protest leant more to the whole question than the particular despatch; the interference recommended by which grew out of that previously exercised: the mistake was in the sanction originally given to the pecuniary dealings of the House with the minister of the Nizam. Protest and Appendix, Mandamus Papers, p. 123.

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pecuniary dealings with Europeans, supported by the irresistible influence of the local governments, and were, consistently with the sentiments which they had all along expressed, unfavourable to the particular transactions at Hyderabad. But in their anxiety to mark their disapprobation of the proceedings, and to discard the imputation of sanctioning an undue influence over the pecuniary interests of the Nizam, they had undoubtedly, in their dissemination of the doctrine of the illegal rate of interest beyond twelve per cent. per annum, prejudiced the claims of the house upon their private debtors, and rendered it difficult for them to recover sums of money, their right to which, whatever their character or origin, would not have been disputed, or in native estimation regarded as founded on extortion, unless the notion of injustice and illegality had been suggested to them by the declaration of the British Government. This opinion unquestionably contributed to delay the settlement of some of the most important claims of the house; and the delay must have been prejudicial to their interests. Some compensation for this injury, it was therefore not unreasonable to bestow; and the influence of the Resident judiciously exercised, to prevail upon the Nizam to enforce the judicial decrees of his own Courts, was not open to any very serious objection. The interposition was not exercised to any very great advantage. Munir-al-Mulk had consented to a compromise of his debts, when the arrangement was interrupted by his death. The appointment of arbitrators to effect an adjustment with his son

and successor was sanctioned by the Nizam; but the claims of the house were still unsettled at the termination of the period under review[1].

Of the other and minor Mohammedan principalities, Bhopal became the scene of domestic dissensions which led to a change of the arrangements that had been established for its government after the reduction of the Mahratta power, by which the widow of Nazar Mohammed had been placed at the head of affairs, until the majority of the young Nawab, Munir Mohammed, the son of Amir Mohammed, the affianced husband of the daughter of the last prince. As he grew up to manhood, Munir Mohammed claimed a substantive share in the administration; but the Begum refused to relinquish any portion of her authority, and, asserting that the Nawab was equally incompetent as a ruler and a husband, cancelled the intended nuptials, and after a sharp struggle, compelled him to relinquish his pretensions in favour of his younger brother, Jehangir Mohammed. The Government of Bengal refrained from taking any part in the contest. The chiefs generally sided with the Begum, as Munir Mohammed was a young man of dissolute habits and disreputable character, while the Begum was a woman of spirit and ability, and competent to exercise the power which she was determined to retain as long as she was able. With this feeling, she delayed the solemnisation of the marriage of her daughter with Jehangir Mohammed, and withheld from him,

[1] The Proceedings of the Court and of the Board, with regard to the Writ of Mandamus in the case of Palmer and Co., were printed under a resolution of the Court of Proprietors.—20th March, 1833.

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as she had done from his brother, all political power, after he had attained an age which entitled him to a voice in the conduct of public affairs. The young Nawab appealed to the British Government for its interference, and having been deputed to meet the Governor-General on the latter's visit to Saugar, in January, 1833, represented to Lord W. Bentinck, in a private interview, the expectations of himself and his friends to be placed in the immediate possession of the rights attached to the station to which he had been raised with the concurrence and sanction of the British Government. Considering, however, that Sikander Begum enjoyed the popular support, the Governor-General declined interposition, beyond insisting that the marriage should take place at the period at which the Begum had engaged that it should be solemnised, in compliance with the urgent recommendations of the British Agent and the representations of her own adherents. It was accordingly celebrated in the beginning of 1835; and for a time, the domestic squabbles of this little court were appeased. Sikander Begum, however, was as little disposed as ever to lay aside her power; and finding the usual restraints of Asiatic manners embarrass her public proceedings, discarded them for manly habits, and held public levees, and walked and rode about without any attempt at concealment. This conduct impaired in some measure her popularity; and her persevering exclusion of the young Nawab from any share in the administration, again gave rise to disputes, which ended at last in a mutual appeal to arms; the British authorities being precluded by

the policy of their government from maintaining the public tranquillity undisturbed. The Nawab fled from Bhopal—levied troops, and obtained possession of several strong towns, including the fort of Ashta, which became his head quarters. The Begum sent her forces against him, and an action was fought, in which the leaders on both sides were slain, and the troops of the Nawab were defeated. The victors laid siege to Ashta; but the British Government was now satisfied of the mischievous consequences of its indifference, and offered its mediation, which was readily accepted. Negociations were concluded under the auspices of the Political Agent; and tranquillity was restored. The intentions of the original engagements were accomplished. The Begum was compelled to resign her sway, and accept the grant of an inferior but independent Jagir, and the Nawab was placed on the Musnud of Bhopal.

The two other Mohammedan States of Central India, which owed their origin to the decision of the British Government in favour of Ghaffur Khan and Amir Khan, require no particular notice. Upon the death of Ghaffur Khan, in 1827, disputes arose for the regency during the minority of his successor, between the Begum his mother, and the minister of her late husband; but they were prevented from coming to extremities by the timely intervention of the Resident at Indore. The territories of Amir Khan remained in a peaceable and prosperous condition until his death in 1838, when he was succeeded by his son Mohammed Khan. In 1832 Amir Khan, in common with the other

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chiefs of Central India, visited the camp of the Governor-General at Ajmere, and effaced all recollection of his political delinquencies and predatory practices, by his frank and soldier-like deportment[1], and the fulness and freshness of the anecdotes he narrated of the adventures of his early life.

With the administration of Lord W. Bentinck, commences a new era in the politics of British India with regard to the Mohammedan states upon the Indus, or beyond its banks, with Bahawalpur, Sindh, and Afghanistan. The character of the relations which were established was professedly commercial; and the main objects were declared to be the unobstructed navigation of the Indus, and the opening of a new and desirable channel for the access of British merchandize to the heart of Central Asia, through the Punjab and Kabul. Events, however, occurring at the moment, and still more those of subsequent years, have shown that the commercial advantages were of secondary consideration, and that others of a political complexion were the main springs of this departure from the prudence which, since the time of the Earl of Minto had actuated the Governments of India, who in their relations with the bordering principalities, had been contented to express the general subsistence of friendly feelings, while steadily declining any more intimate intercourse. Motives which had formerly dictated

[1] It was on this occasion that he presented to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department, the memoir of his life, written from his dictation by his Munshi (as the soldier was no scholar); of which, Mr. Prinsep has published a translation. It is a most valuable contribution to the materials of Anglo-Indian history.

a different policy, were now again in operation, and, as in 1809 apprehension of the designs of France had instigated the British Ministry to direct the attention of the Governor-General to the formation of alliances beyond the Indus, so, in 1829, a panic fear of the projects of Russia induced the Cabinet of St. James's to instruct the authorities in India to establish a commanding influence upon that river, in order to counteract the consequences which might be anticipated from the complete prostration of Persia and its subservience to the designs of Russia against the empire of Britain in the East. From these instructions originated a policy hitherto repudiated by the wisdom of the Indian Governments, as foreign to the interests of India, and only calculated to involve them in embarrassment and discredit. Events belonging to a subsequent period demonstrated the justice of these views; and a ruinous expenditure and ineffable disgrace were the penalty of uncalled-for interference with the affairs of Afghanistan.

Consistently with the avowed objects of the British Government, negociations were conducted with the different princes ruling on either bank of the Indus for the free transit of vessels laden with European goods; and, after some hesitation, in which the Amirs of Sindh manifested extreme repugnance to open their territories to European adventure, and an instinctive dread of the result of a more intimate connection with the Indian Government, which was justified by events, treaties were concluded with the Government of Hyderabad in Sindh, by which

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it was stipulated that perpetual friendship should subsist between the contracting parties; and that they should never "look with a covetous eye on the possessions of each other;" that a free passage along the Indus should be granted to the merchants and traders of India; that fixed, proper, and moderate duties only should be imposed, and no vexatious delays at the Custom stations be permitted. By a supplementary treaty it was provided, that no duties should be levied on the goods; but a toll be imposed on the boats carrying them, at a fixed sum per boat, whatever might be its tonnage. Similar engagements were concluded with the Nawab of Bahawalpur, and with Ranjit Sing, for that portion of the river which flowed through their territories, and for the rivers of the Punjab[1]. With Ranjit Sing, it appeared to the British Ministry, to be highly desirable to form a still closer and more intimate connection; and with the purpose of conciliating his good-will, a letter was addressed to him by the President of the Board of Control, Lord Ellenborough, in the name and by command of his Majesty William IV., forwarding for his acceptance several English horses of unusual size and stature, for which it was known that the Raja entertained a childish predilection. The letter and the horses were conveyed to Lahore by Lieutenant A. Burnes, and presented to Ranjit Sing in

[1] See Treaties with the Government of Hyderabad in Sindh, April 1832 and December, 1834. With Maharaja Ranjit Sing, December 1832 and January 1835; and with the Nawab of Bahawalpur, February 1833 and February 1835.—Treaties printed for the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

July, 1831[1]; and in the following October an interview took place, at Rupar on the Setlej, between the Maharaja and the Governor-General, intended to confirm the friendly disposition of the wily ruler of the Punjab. No object of a deeper import was avowed; and a week was spent in the interchange of personal civilities and displays of the military equipments and discipline of the Sikh and British troops, who constituted the respective escorts of the Governor-General and the Maharaja[2]. That subjects of more importance were discussed, was manifested by the result; and the foundation was then laid of the alliance which was afterwards formed against the ruler of the Afghans. A more immediate though unacknowledged, consequence was the assistance afforded by the Sikh ruler to the ex-king of Kabul, Shah Shuja, who had been expatriated for more than twenty years; and had been indebted for his support, during the greater portion of that interval, to the generosity of the British Government—residing with his family at the station of Ludiana. That a negociation had been opened between the Shah and the Maharaja, before the meeting of Rupar took place; and that conditions had been proposed, and generally acceded to, was known to the Governor-General; and Ranjit Sing would scarcely have entered into the project unless

[1] Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, by Lieutenant Alex. Burnes; forming the third volume of his Travels into Bokhara.

[2] The Governor-General on the occasion was attended, in addition to his usual body-guard, by two squadrons of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, a troop of Horse Artillery, two Risalas of Skinners' Horse, His Majesty's 31st Foot, and 14th and 32nd Regiments, N. I. Ranjit Sing was escorted by ten thousand of his best Horse and six thousand trained Infantry.—Prinsep's Life of Runjit Sing, p. 161.

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he had felt secure of the acquiescence of the British Government[1]. Subsequently, indeed, compliance with the application of Shah Shuja for assistance was declined upon the principle of religiously abstaining from intermeddling with the affairs of the neighbouring states. Matters were not yet mature for a rupture with Dost Mohammed, although his intercourse with Persia and the designs of Abbas Mirza the Prince of Persia, upon Herat instigated and supported, it was suspected, by the Russians for their own purposes, were jealously watched agreeably to the instructions from England; and the recovery by Shah Shuja of the throne of Kabul was contemplated as an additional security against the nearer approach of the Russian arms to the frontier of India.

Shah Shuja made his first move from Ludiana, in January, 1833, with a few hundred followers; but by the time he arrived at Shikarpore, he had collected thirty thousand. The Amirs of Sindh, who had engaged to promote his cause, at first received him amicably and supplied him with pecuniary assistance; but finding that he was in no haste to leave their country, and that he demanded still more considerable succours, they determined to compel his departure, and marched with a body of troops against him. An action was fought near Rori, in January, 1834, between the Shah's force and that of the Amirs, in which the latter sustained a very severe defeat, losing many chiefs of note. The result of the encounter was the

[1] The Treaty was not formally ratified until March, 1833, when the Shah was in Sindh, on his march towards Afghanistan.

submission of the Amirs; and, upon their consenting to pay an additional subsidy, and provide him with an auxiliary force, the Shah moved on to Kandahar. No opposition was offered to his advance; and some ineffective attempts at resistance in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, were defeated without much difficulty. The Sirdars of the Barakzye family, Kohan Dil Khan, Mihr Dil Kan, and Rehim Khan who jointly governed the district, were confined to the city, which the Shah was about to besiege, when the arrival of Dost Mohammed from Kabul, with a strong body of troops changed the aspect of affairs. The King retired to Abbasabad, and was there attacked on the 29th June, by the Kabul army. The brunt of the action was borne by two battalions of Hindustani troops, who had been disciplined by a European of the name of Campbell, and who behaved with an intrepidity which at one time afforded promise of success. The misconduct of Shah Shuja's Afghan followers, and the treachery of some of his chiefs, frustrated their efforts; and the consequence was, his total defeat, the dispersion of his army, and the flight of the Shah with a slender escort to the fort of Lash, where he was sheltered by an Afghan chief. Having collected a small force, he then proceeded to Furrah, where he expected to be joined by reinforcements from Herat; but being disappointed of their arrival, and threatened by a party of horse under Rehim Khan, he fled across the desert of Sistan to Kelat, after enduring severe privations and losing many of his followers. Mehrab Khan, the Baluch

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chieftain of Kelat, gave him refuge, and refused to surrender him to Rehim-Dil-Khan; but an agreement was concluded between them that the former should withdraw his protection, and the latter desist from pursuit. Shah Shuja, thus forced to quit Kelat, repaired to Sindh, where he was received, notwithstanding their late disagreement, by the Amirs with respect and hospitality. After remaining a short time at Hyderabad, the Shah returned by way of Jesselmere to his former retreat at Ludiana[1]. A few years more witnessed his second departure from that place, under auspices of more brilliant promise, but which, after a short interval of uneasy triumph, were signally falsified by his disgrace and death.

From these transactions affecting the Mohammedan princes, we now proceed to consider the state of the relations which subsisted with the several Mahratta chiefs, particularly with the Raja of Nagpore, the Gaekwar, Holkar and Sindhia.

In the first of these principalities, the arrangements, which were rendered unavoidable by the minority of the Raja, and the incapacity or unfitness of the persons at first intrusted with the direction of affairs, imposing the task of management

[1] Papers relative to the expedition of Shah-Shuja-ul-Mulk into Afghanistan in 1833-4, printed by order of Parliament, 20th March, 1839. Mr. Atkinson, from materials furnished by Shah Shuja himself, gives an account of the expedition, differing in some respect from the official accounts, especially in regard to the conduct of Mehrab Khan, who is accused of having attempted to intercept the Shah's flight, and make him prisoner.—Expedition into Afghanistan, by J. Atkinson, Esq., p. 48. Mr. Masson confirms the official testimony of Mehrab Khan's hospitality to the Shah. He ascribes the defeat at Kandahar to Shah Shuja's precipitancy and want of courage.—Journies in Baluchistan, etc , by C. Masson, Esq., iii. 259.

upon the British functionaries, have been already adverted to. Under the judicious and active administration of Mr. Jenkins, Nagpore had made great advances in population and prosperity[1]. Moderate assessments for definite periods had been framed with the concurrence of the cultivators—arbitrary exactions had been prohibited, and the abuses of the native methods of collecting the revenue suppressed. The expenditure of the State had been contracted within the limits of its income, and the troops were obedient, and the people contented. The theoretical dread of interference which was ever present to the imagination of the Home authorities, rendered them regardless of its beneficial operation in the case of Nagpore; and repeated orders insisted on the country's being consigned to the misrule of a youth, who, although not deficient in ability, was of frivolous tastes, and disinclined to serious business. His age, inexperience, and pliability of disposition could not fail to throw him into the hands of interested and mischievous advisers, whose suggestions there was no person of sufficient influence or authority to correct or control, and all the evils of native mal-administration would be again inflicted on the country. Not-

[1] In 1820, the population of the reserved districts was 2,214,000. In 1825, it was 2,471,000, being an increase of 257,000 in five years. The revenue of the earlier date was thirty-five lakhs of rupees; the later forty lakhs; although, in consequence of augmented cultivation, the price of grain had greatly declined. Wheat, which sold in 1820 for twenty rupees the khandi, sold for less than four in 1825. Notwithstanding this fall of price, the agricultural peasantry were in improved circumstances, and the increased revenue was levied without any difficulty — shewing that they were less heavily burthened than when large sums were exacted from them, which never found their way to the public treasury.—Jenkins's Report on Nagpore, p. 259.

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withstanding these obvious objections, the injunctions from home, being in harmony with the policy of the local government, were implicitly obeyed; and it was determined to restore to the Raja, now in his nineteenth year, the uncontrolled management of Nagpore. It was in vain that the Resident advocated the gradual transfer of the ruling authority, and recommended a delay until the Raja should have attained a more mature age; by which time the arrangements that had been found advantageous would have acquired consistency and permanence, and a sufficient balance would have accumulated in the treasury to enable the Raja to provide for the extra demands to which he would be liable, without adding to the burthens of his people, and causing them to relapse into the condition from which they had been so recently extricated. The orders from home constituted the reply to these recommendations; and they were carried into effect. The Raja was installed as the active head of the administration. A Resident, with power to advise and control, was continued; and some of the provinces were retained under his management[1]; of which, the surplus revenue was destined to provide for the charge of the subsidiary force until other funds should be available. A treaty was accordingly prepared; in which it was stipulated, that the Raja should ever pay attention to the advice of the British Government, and adopt such ordinances and regulations as it should suggest

[1] They were Deogerh above the ghats, Chanda, Chateesgerh, and part of the Wayn Ganga; yielding a net revenue of seventeen lakhs of rupees.—Treaties and Engagements with Native Powers, i. 604. Calcutta, 1845.

for ensuring order, economy and integrity in the adjustment and collection of his revenues; and that whenever a deterioration in the resources of the state and the condition of the people might be apprehended, the British Government should be at liberty to bring under its own direct management any portion or the whole of the Raj. At a subsequent date, these stipulations were modified. The reserved districts were restored to the Raja; and the regulation and disposal of his military force, with the exception of the subsidiary troops, left to his unfettered discretion—a privilege for which he was to pay a tribute of eight lakhs of rupees a year, under the denomination of a subsidy. The article respecting the eventual assumption of the management of the country was also modified; and it was stipulated, that, if gross and systematic oppression, anarchy and misrule, should at any time prevail, seriously endangering the public tranquillity and placing in jeopardy the stability of the resources whence the Raja discharged his obligations to the Company, the British Government reserved to itself the right of re-appointing its own officers to the management of such district or districts of the Nagpore territory, and for so long a period as it might deem necessary. The necessity has, fortunately for the Raja, never arisen; and the administration of Nagpore has been quietly, and not unsuccessfully, conducted by the native ministers, in friendly dependence upon the Resident.

The ex-Raja of Nagpore, Apa Saheb, had been tempted to quit his asylum in the mountains about the time of the agitation which prevailed in India

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at the close of the Burmese war; and, after various adventures, took sanctuary in the temple of Maha Mandira, a celebrated shrine in the territory of Jodhpur. The Raja was at first required to secure the fugitive and deliver him to the British Agent at Ajmere; but he declined compliance, pleading in excuse his inability to infringe upon the privileges of the temple, and his fear that he should be for ever disgraced in the estimation of all Hindustan if he were to refuse to an unfortunate prince the rights of hospitality. The excuse was admitted, and the demand urged no further; but Man Sing was held responsible for the conduct of his guest, and expected to restrain him from any attempts to disturb the public tranquillity. Some obscure intrigues were set on foot by Apa Saheb with individuals of no note, who engaged to accomplish his restoration to sovereignty; but neither the persons nor the projects were of a character to endanger the security or excite the alarm of the government of Nagpore.

The proceedings of Syaji Rao Gaekwar on his accession to the sovereignty of Guzerat, disappointed the expectations which had been founded on his previous familiarity with public business, and his cordial co-operation with the British Resident during the reign of his imbecile predecessor. Relying upon his favourable disposition and matured experience, considerable latitude was granted to him in the management of his internal affairs, subject to the general control of the Resident, and the observance of all obligations guaranteed by the British Government, according to stipulations which we have

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already had occasion to describe. These engagements, into which Syaji had readily entered, were soon disregarded; expenses were incurred without the knowledge of the Resident, or in opposition to his judgment, and serious defalcations took place in the revenue. The capitalists of Baroda, who had advanced large sums of money to the Gaekwar upon the guarantee of the British Government, appealed to it for interposition; and as its own credit, as well as that of the Gaekwar, was at stake, active and decided interference became necessary. Arrangements were in consequence concerted with the minister, Vital Rao Bhao, and concurred in by his master, by which extensive tracts were let in farm to the leading bankers of Baroda for a term of seven years, upon conditions which protected the interests of the people, as well as of the creditors of the state. The arrangement was concluded under Bhandari, or guarantee of the Company for its faithful execution.

These measures had no sooner been adopted than they excited deep dissatisfaction in the mind of Syaji, who complained that his minister had sacrificed his interests to those of the British Government[1], and that he had been unjustly deprived of that authority to manage his own affairs with which he had been deliberately invested by

[1] Vital Rao had been appointed sole minister in 1820, upon the dismissal of his former colleague in office, Dhakji Dadaji, removed for peculation, rather against the wish of the Gaekwar, who was desirous of appointing Sitarám, the minister who was deeply implicated in the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, and was therefore decidedly objected to by Mr. Elphinstone. Vital Rao's nomination was acquiesced in as a matter of indifference.—Minute of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 3 May, 1820.—Report H. of Com., Political App. vi. 23.

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Mr. Elphinstone. He also complained, and not without some show of justice, of the many and vexatious encroachments on his authority and his rights, which arose from the multiplication of the guarantees granted by the British Resident. Originally designed for the security of the bankers, whose assistance was indispensable for the solvency of the state, the principle of the Bhandari had undergone a gradual and insensible extension to very different purposes, and comprehended immunities and privileges, emoluments and pensions, and offices and lands secured to different individuals for a longer or a shorter period[1]. It was true, that these grants had mostly originated with the Gaekwar himself, and that it was the term of their duration only which was guaranteed; but as this rendered revocation impossible without the Resident's consent, it prevented the prince from following the bent of his own caprice, when disposed to resume the benefactions he had bestowed under a different state of feeling, and rendered the objects of his liberality independant of his change of sentiment. A perpetual struggle took place, therefore, between the Prince and the Resident; the former attempting to set aside, the latter to uphold, the guarantee; pending which the Gaekwar not unfrequently had recourse to

[1] Between 1801-2 and 1827-8, no fewer than 119 Bhandari engagements had been sanctioned, of which fifty-four were in force at the latter date; of these, twelve were for loans, twelve for hereditary offices and emoluments, eight for pensions and grants of land, two for personal protection, eight for contracts, seven for dealings between the Gaekwar and his subjects, the rest miscellaneous. The office of Dewan was guaranteed to two families, as a perpetual hereditary duty; but as the representatives of both were obnoxious to Syaji, he employed neither. They received, nevertheless, the sinecure pay of minister amounting to about 1,34,000 rupees a year.

violence, and, by seizing upon persons or sequestrating lands for the security of which the character of the British Government was pledged, justly incurred its displeasure.

The good effects of the financial arrangement which had been concluded were, in the first instance, frustrated by the occurrence of an almost universal drought, which rendered large remissions of the revenue unavoidable; but a more permanent source of disappointment originated in the conduct of Syaji himself, who, with a short-sightedness not uncommon among Asiatic princes, diverted the revenue from its application to public expenditure, to accumulate it in his private treasury, regardless of the embarrassment of the finances, as long as he was possessed of individual wealth[2]. The reimbursement of the capitalists who had advanced him loans, the charges of the force he was bound by treaty to maintain, the pay of his own civil and military establishments, all fell into arrears; and no prospect appeared of liquidating the debt, for the realisation of which the Company was surety. In fact, the Gaekwar was labouring to subvert the settlement, which had been made with the bankers for the farming of the revenues long before their lease expired, and to transfer the assignments, without their consent, to different individuals who professed their readiness to advance

[2] In the course of five years, from 1820-1 to 1825-6, above sixty lakhs of the surplus revenue, appropriable to the discharge of the public debt, were lodged in Syaji's own coffers. Instead of the extinction of the debt, which was to have been effected in this period, it had rather increased, amounting in 1827-8, to one crore and thirty lakhs, although the interest had been reduced in 1822 from ten to six per cent.

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money on more favourable terms. The sincerity of these offers was doubtful; and they could not be acceded to without the concurrence of the lease-holders, which not being accorded, the guarantee remained in force. Attributing the disappointment of his schemes to the unfriendly disposition of the Resident, Mr. Williams, the Gaekwar endeavoured to enter into a direct communication with the Governor of Bombay, Sir John Malcolm; and sent an agent of his own to the Presidency, not only for that purpose, but to take advantage of the dissensions which were now rife between the Supreme Court and the Government, and array the authority of the former against the latter, in his favour. The irregularity of these proceedings, the repeated violations of guaranteed rights and possessions; the persevering efforts of Syaji to annul the Septennial leases, and break his engagements with the bankers, who had contracted them upon the responsibility of the British Government; his inattention to all the representations and remonstrances of the Bombay Government; his inveteracy against the minister of his own election, because he enjoyed the confidence of the Resident, and his insulting treatment of the latter, at length exhausted the forbearance of the Government, and induced it to adopt vigorous measures for the enforcement of the engagements contracted by the Gaekwar, under its guarantee. It was resolved, accordingly, to assume the direct management of certain districts of the principality of Guzerat, yielding an annual revenue of twenty-seven lakhs, and to apply the surplus, rated at twenty-one lakhs, to the liquidation of the guaranteed

debt; after which, the districts were to be replaced under the Gaekwar's officers. A proclamation announcing the arrangement, was put forth, and possession was taken of the sequestrated territory by a military force. The general management was assigned to Vital Rao, who had been dismissed by Syaji from his office of minister. A further sequestration was subsequently authorised, in order to ensure the maintenance of the contingent horse, which the Gaekwar was bound by treaty to keep up for the service of the British Government. These measures widened the breach between the two Governments; and as the presence of the British Resident at Baroda only served to augment the irritation of Syaji, it was determined to withdraw that officer, and place the intercourse with Guzerat under the charge of a Political Commissioner, who should hold his residence at Ahmedabad[1]. This, however, was only a temporary arrangement; and after a short time it was found expedient to re-establish the Residency. In the interval, a plan was concerted in Syaji's own family, and by the most respectable members of his Court, to remove from his councils the persons to whose advice they attributed the dangerous career in which he had engaged. The project was unfortunately betrayed to him; and the chief individuals accused of being concerned in it were apprehended and put to death, without any investigation, and in the most cruel manner[2].

[1] Minute of Sir John Malcolm, 30th Nov. 1830; review of the affairs of Guzerat. Report Comm. H. of Com. Political. Appen. VI. No. 25.

[2] Ganpat Rao was beaten to death with clubs; a Brahman, a

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The different policy which influenced the British Government of India, after Lord William Bentinck's accession to power, disposed it to overlook the refractory proceedings of the Gaekwar, in the hope of getting quit of the system of guarantee, and thus removing the principal cause of disagreement. In 1832 the Earl of Clare, then Governor of Bombay, after a meeting with the Governor-General at Ajmere, visited Baroda on his return, and in communication with the Gaekwar and the principal bankers of the capital, concluded arrangements, which were highly satisfactory to Syaji, and which it was hoped would put an end to the differences that had hitherto prevailed. The bankers were induced to accede to the Gaekwar's proposals for the discharge of his debts, and to release the British Government from any other guarantee than that of personal immunity. A sum of money was deposited, by Syaji, in the treasury of Bombay as a security for the pay of the contingent force; and upon these arrangements being carried into effect, the sequestrated districts were restored to him.

The harmony which had thus been re-established with the Court of Baroda, was not long preserved. There still remained obligations in favour of individuals, of which the British Government could not with any decency get quit, and which were sources of constant annoyance to the Gaekwar, although in some cases equally imperative on himself. He had promised to respect them; but he had no sooner recovered possession of his country, than he either

Bhora merchant of great wealth, and two others implicated in the plot, were built up in cells and left to perish. Or. Documents.

denied their validity, or violently infringed them. He retained also, as his principal advisers, persons notoriously hostile to the British connexion, and gave countenance and protection to individuals who were charged with committing depredations on the maritime trade, or on the border possessions of the subjects of the Company. The necessary consequences were the discontinuance of the system of forbearance, and recurrence to the sequestration of valuable portions of the Baroda territory. These transactions belong, however, to a subsequent period.

As long as the youth of Malhar Rao Holkar precluded him from exercising any influence over the government of his country, the affairs of Indore continued to improve under the management of efficient ministers, and the general control of the British Resident. With the advance of the Raja to manhood, the aspect of affairs became less promising. Indolent and extravagant, he displayed no aptitude for the duties of his station, but lent a ready ear to the mischievous counsels of unworthy favourites, at whose suggestions the more prudent advice of his ministers was unheeded; and their endeavours to restrain his prodigality were defeated. The ill-effects of his conduct were partly obviated by the aid of his adoptive mother, who had the command of the accumulated treasure, which the providence of the ministers had amassed; and, partly by the brief duration of his reign, which terminated before the defects of his character had time to be fully developed. He died in October, 1833, at the age of twenty-seven.

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No event of any serious importance disturbed the tranquillity of Indore, during the life of its Prince. A feudatory of Udaypur, the Thakur of Bigu, possessed himself for a season of the border district of Nandwai, and levied contributions from the neighbourhood. He was expelled by Holkar's troops, including the contingent under the command of a British officer; and the Rana of Udaypur, as responsible for the outrage committed by his dependant, was compelled by the interposition of the British authorities to pay a compensation for the injury and expense to which the territory of Indore had been subjected.

Some disturbance and apprehension were excited in various parts of Malwa, contiguous to Holkar's possessions, by the appearance of a Hindu fanatic, a Patel of a village in Sondwara, who passed himself off for an incarnation of the Mahratta divinity, Kandi Rao, and pretended to have the power of miraculously curing cholera and other dangerous diseases. Absurd as were his pretensions, he found abundance of adherents, and numbers both of horse and foot flocked to his standard. Thus strengthened, he proceeded to levy contributions, both in kind and money, from the surrounding villages; and raised considerable sums, which were devoted to the equipment of his followers. The officers of Sindhia and Holkar were unable to make head against the fanatic; and a strong party of the Mahidpore contingent, under Capt. Mc Mahon, was detached against him. The insurgents confiding in the superhuman character

of their chief, and believing him to be invulnerable, boldly advanced to attack the division, but were received by a steady fire, under which their leader fell; thus undeceived, his adherents immediately broke and fled, and the disturbance was quelled with the same facility with which it had been excited.

Malhar Rao dying childless, his widow, in concert with her mother-in-law, adopted a boy who was said to be a descendant of Tookaji Holkar. At the time of his adoption, he was between three and four years of age, and was installed by the title of Martand Rao; the administration remaining in the hands of Madho Rao Furnavis, the minister of the late Raja, with the support, and under the guidance of Kesari Bai, the Ma-ji, or mother of Malhar Rao. The installation was attended by the British representative, but no formal sanction was given to the adoption, as the succession was likely to be disputed. The British Government thus leaving to a probable conflict the decision of a question, which the slightest intimation of its will would at once have set at rest, either by sanctioning the elevation of Martand Rao, or by acknowledging the preferable validity of the claim of his competitor Hari Holkar, the son of Itoji, the elder brother of Jeswant Rao, who had been held in confinement at Maheswara, during the preceding reign[2].

Although having good cause to apprehend the consequences of the liberation of Hari Holkar, the

[1] He is noticed by Malcolm, as having behaved with great gallantry at Mahidpur.—Central India, i. 319.

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authorities at Indore appear to have taken no precaution against such an event, and he was very soon released from confinement by a body of Bhils and Mewatis, and partisans from the neighbouring Mahratta districts. The fort and town of Maheswar fell at once into his hands. As the British Resident refused to give any support to the infant Raja, the Bais felt their inability to oppose Hari Holkar, and sent a message, acquiescing in his elevation, and inviting him to Indore. Notwithstanding this recognition of his claims, he hesitated to leave Maheswara until he obtained the additional security of a British escort; and with some degree of inconsistency, but under a feeling that the presence of a new Raja was necessary at Indore to arrest the signs of popular commotion which were beginning to appear, the Resident directed a detachment of the 5th Local Horse, and a British officer, to conduct the Raja to the city. Hari Holkar made his entry into Indore in March, 1834, and was seated on the cushion of sovereignty in the following April, in the presence of the Resident. A Khelat was shortly after presented to him, on the part of the Governor-General. The child Martand Rao, was dismissed with his parents to his home in the Dekhin, where they were indebted for a maintenance to the interposition of the British Government. The character of the new Raja was no better calculated than that of his predecessor to maintain the credit, or promote the prospects of the State. His minister, Revaji Phansia, whom he called from the Dekhin to his councils, apparently because he had been in the service of Jeswant Rao

Holkar some fifteen years before, was wholly unfit for the duties of his office, and availed himself of his influence over the Raja to apply the limited resources of the country to his own private emolument. Under his mismanagement the revenues rapidly declined — the expenditure exceeded the receipts—the troops became mutinous for arrears of pay, and the people were oppressed and discontented. A conspiracy against the Raja was organised, and had nearly succeeded, when the hesitation of the leaders caused its failure. The Raja and his minister reaped no benefit from the lesson, and their mal-administration, unchecked by the interposition of the British Government, produced its usual results — the necessity of that interference which it had been so much an object to avoid, in order to save the State of Indore from utter dissolution[1].

The States of Dhar and Dewas, bordering on the territories of Indore, remained faithful to their engagements with the British authorities, and were, in general, ably and peaceably governed. The tranquillity of the former was disturbed towards the close of 1831, by a serious incursion of the Bhils, subject to the principality. This was partly owing to the abolition of the British agency of Bhopawar, by the superintendence of which the Bhils were equally deterred from committing any outrage on the peaceable cultivators, and protected

[1] In 1837-8, the Raja was informed, that the British Government would consider it to be its duty to assume the management of the country, unless the Resident should report a material amelioration. The intimation had the desired effect, and important reforms were instituted.

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in the enjoyment of their acknowledged rights. The removal of British superintendence was followed by a relaxed system of control, and by iniquitous encroachments and exactions. This vexatious conduct provoked the Bhils to relapse into their predatory habits; and they assembled in arms and plundered the adjacent districts. They were further excited to insubordination by the presence of an individual, Uchet Sing, who gave himself out to be the son of Murari Rao Powar, a former competitor for the principality, and the reputed grandson of Jeswant Rao Powar, who was killed at the battle of Panipet. Murari Rao had carried on a desperate struggle for several years with the ruler of Dhar, in which he was foiled by the aid of Jeswant Rao Holkar: his chief adherents were the Bhils, who transferred their attachment to his son. Being unable to put a stop to the insurrection, and anticipating the ruin of the country, the Government of Dhar earnestly solicited the interposition of the British Government; and, after some hesitation it was granted, on condition that an inquiry should be instituted into the causes of the disturbance, and that the measures thought necessary for its settlement should be complied with. To this the Raja was compelled to agree; but the insurgents rejected the offered mediation, and troops were sent against them, under Captain Outram, by whose activity the Bhils were soon reduced to submission. Uchet Sing and his principal adherents came into camp, on an assurance of safety, and a promise that their claims should be inquired into and equitably adjusted. Accordingly, an

agreement was concluded, by which Uchet Sing, in consideration of a pension from the Dhar State, consented to relinquish his pretensions; and the acts of extortion and oppression of which the Bhils complained, were redressed. Shortly after tranquillity was restored the Raja died, and as he left no son, the widow, with the concurrence of the British Government, adopted a son, who succeeded by the title of Maha Rao Powar.

The arrangements at Gwalior which ensued upon the death of Dowlat-Rao-Sindhia, involved abundantly the seeds of future dissension. Baiza Bai, forced very reluctantly to adopt a successor to her husband, clung tenaciously to the notion that it was Sindhia's intention that she should hold the regency during her natural life, and regarded with extreme jealousy the growing years and pretensions of the young Raja. As he was on the eve of adolescence when adopted, Janakaji soon came to think himself old enough to be let loose from the trammels of tutelage, and to be entitled to more than nominal authority; and he did not want advisers to stimulate him to assert his claims. They were, in truth, recognized by the British Government when it insisted upon the Bai's consent to the Raja's being provided with a separate seal, and refused to receive any official communication from the Court of Gwalior, which was not authenticated by its impression. The Bai was under the necessity of complying; but she did not therefore forego her hope of being allowed to retain her power, if not in her own right, at least, as Regent. She did not despair of setting Janakaji aside altogether, especially as the grand-

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daughter to whom he was affianced, had died, and her own daughter, Chimna Bai, was pregnant, affording a prospect of an heir to Sindhia, in a direct line. Repeated applications were made by her to the British Government to favour her views, but they met with no encouragement: the adoption of a son, and his succession to the throne, having received the concurrence of all the chief members of the court of Gwalior and the principal persons of the camp, not excepting the nearest relatives of the Bai.

The restraints imposed by the Bai upon the young Raja having become intolerable, he took an opportunity of escaping from the palace in which he was kept under strict supervision, and sought refuge with the Resident, asserting that he did not consider his life safe, from the insolence of his guards, and from the machinations of the Bai. With some difficulty, a reconciliation was effected; but upon the visit of Lord W. Bentinck to Gwalior, both parties were earnest with him to sanction their respective pretensions. With that indecision which characterized the policy of the Government in its relations with native states, no positive expression of its will or opinion was pronounced. The Governor-General recommended the young Raja to be satisfied with the position he occupied, in which he might regard himself as a fortunate person, and for which he was indebted to Baiza Bai, to whom a feeling of gratitude should, therefore, render him submissive. If he awaited patiently the course of events, the Governor General would recommend to the Bai not to supersede the Raja by

any other adoption; but if he raised disturbances, the consequences must fall upon himself: the British Government would not interfere in his favour[1]. The parties were, in short, to follow their own views—the Bai to keep her power as long as she was able—the Raja to wrest it from her if he could. The general purport of the recommendations was, however, rather favourable to the continuance of the Bai in authority; and such was her impression[2]. The only result of the visit of the Governor-General was to render the breach more irreparable than ever.

At length, in the middle of 1833, the quarrel came to a crisis. The cause of the Raja was embraced by some of the disciplined battalions of the Gwalior state; and on the morning of the 10th of July, the palace was beset by a turbulent soldiery, a portion of whom carried off the Raja to the camp, and the rest, mounting guard upon the palace, threatened the adherents of the Bai with destruction. The Bai, alarmed for her personal safety, fled from the palace by a private door, and repaired on foot to the residence of her brother, Hindu Rao, where she requested the presence of the Resident. Agreeably to the prin-

[1] Report of a conference between the Governor General and Janaka Rao Sindhia at Gwalior.—Asiatic Monthly Journal, xiv. 7.

[2] The Bai, in her correspondence with the Governor-General, always unhesitatingly asserted that he had confirmed her in the Regency, and authorised her to continue in the management of the state. "It is very extraordinary," she remarks, "that, while your Lordship is my protector, such injuries have been inflicted on me, a circumstance which cannot but be considered a cause of shame to yourself." The only answer she received was the remark that no station in life was exempt from vicissitudes, and an exhortation to bear her fate with resignation.

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ciple of neutrality which had been enjoined, he declined to obey the summons; and the Bai, having obtained the escort of a battalion of one of the brigades, of which the commandant Jose Sikander remained faithful, repaired by a circuitous route to the dwelling of Mr. Cavendish. She was met on the way by a strong party of the Raja's troops, under Gopal Bhao Sindhia, and a conflict might have ensued, unless it had been stopped by the Resident, who required both parties to suspend hostilities until he had communicated with the Raja. In consequence of his representations, the Raja consented to permit the Bai to retire unmolested from the Gwalior territory, and promised to grant her a liberal annual income if she would reside peaceably within the dominions of the Company. To these conditions the Bai was prevailed upon to accede; and she withdrew in the first instance to Dholpur, on the confines of Gwalior, the possession of the Raja of Gohud, whence she endeavoured to interest the British Government in her restoration, and to excite a counter revolution in the Gwalior State, declaring that she was willing to cede the country entirely to the Company; but that she was resolved never to submit to the usurpation of an ungrateful boy whom she had raised to power, and who was wholly incapable of exercising sovereign sway. The Raja was, however, acknowledged by the British Government; and a letter from the Governor-General congratulated him on his accession—recommending him at the same time to treat the Bai with consideration, restore to her what she claimed as her private property,

and set such of her adherents as had been arrested at liberty, with permission to join their mistress. The recommendations were complied with. Chimna Bai, with her husband and daughter, and Hindu Rao, repaired to the camp of Baiza Bai; and the whole party removed to Agra. Chimna Bai, who by her amiable character had engaged general regard, died in giving birth to an infant, which did not survive its mother; and the hopes of a male heir in the direct line were extinguished. The vicinity of Agra enabling the dispossessed princess to carry on secret intrigues at Gwalior, she was sometime afterwards obliged to cross the Jumna, and retire to a greater distance. She refused to move further than Furrukhabad, where she remained encamped, surrounded by a numerous body of armed followers, and importuning the Government for its interference, as far as regarded her claims to a large amount of treasure to which her right was disputed: her application was complied with, and a liberal pension was ensured to her on condition of her abstaining from all intrigues against the Raja, and retiring to a Jagir in the South of India. With great reluctance, and after a long delay, Baiza Bai, finding that her followers were deserting her, and that there was no chance of recovering her authority at Gwalior, acceded to the conditions proposed, and repaired to the Dekhin. She was a woman of high spirit, and respectable conduct, not destitute of ability to govern, but disposed to shew injudicious partiality to her own kin, and greedy in accumulating private wealth at the expense of public establishments.

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She was violent in temper, but not cruel or vindictive, and during her administration the affairs of Gwalior were conducted with as much efficiency as those of any other native principality. The first years of her successor might have justified regret for her deposal, as they were a perpetual scene of turbulence and danger. The insubordination of the ill-trained and irregularly paid battalions, which constituted the chief military force of the state, displayed itself in repeated mutinies and disturbances, not only fatal to internal prosperity, but dangerous to the tranquillity of the neighbouring states; and they at last produced the catastrophe, which Dowlat Rao had predicted,—the virtual assumption of the civil and military administration of the Gwalior principality by the British Government[1].

The relations with the Rajput states during this period, presented the same fluctuating and contradictory policy, arising from the same causes—the desire to withdraw from interference, and the impossibility of so doing consistently with the preservation of these states from the effects of their own misrule, and the evident obligation imposed upon the British Government as the paramount power. The conflict between these opposing principles, gave occasion to much temporary mischief, and most commonly ended in an extent of interposition exceeding the limits which had been originally proposed.

[1] See treaty with Jyaji Rao Sindhia, 13 January, 1844.—Papers respecting Gwalior, printed by order of Parliament, March and April, 1844.

After the death of Zalim Sing of Kota, he was succeeded in his joint-administration of the principality by his son, Madho Sing; and although, during the life of his father, the Maha Rao Kishore Sing had regarded him with strong feelings of dislike, which there was little hope his own conduct would remove; yet, by the prudent and judicious mediation of the Agent, Colonel Caulfield, and the moderation of the Raj Rana, the Rao and his ministerial co-equal continued on friendly terms, until the death of the former, which took place in July, 1828. When on his death-bed, he required the presence of the Agent, at that time, Lieutenant Hislop, and consigned to his care the honour of his family and the safety of his nephew, Ram Sing, whom he had adopted, and by whom he was succeeded. The young prince was taught to entertain less amicable feelings for the Raj Rana, and frequent dissensions prevailed between them. The administration of the Rana was unpopular, from the heavy taxes laid upon the people, in consequence of the embarrassment of the finances. Arrangements suggested by the Resident, relieved the latter, and the obnoxious exactions were taken off; but no cordiality could be restored between the sovereign-minister and his nominal master. The death of the former in February, 1833, removed one object of the Rao's discontent, but the same division of authority was perpetuated by the treaty, and Madan Sing the son of Madho Sing succeeded to the reality of power attached to the dignity of Raj Rana. The youth and inexperience of Madan Sing rendered him the tool of mischievous advisers,

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whose counsels widened the breach with the Maha Rao; while a party against him was formed by his own followers, in order to place his uncle Goverdhan Das at the head of affairs. These intrigues were baffled by him with the assistance of the Resident; and he continued in possession of his obnoxious office. The impossibility of reconciling interests so reciprocally repulsive as those of the Raj Rana and Maha Rao imposed upon the Government, at a date somewhat posterior to that at which we have arrived, the adoption of the only means of terminating the disagreement—the partition of the state between the two princes, in mutually independent sovereignty. A third of the territories was assigned to the Raj Rana, under the name of Jhalawar; and the other two thirds, constituting the principality of Kota, were placed under the undivided government of the Maha Rao[1].

The affairs of Bundi, during the minority of the Raja, Ram Sing, continued under the arrangement of the Rani mother, whose object, and that of her creatures with whom the court was filled, was the exclusion of the Raja from the independent exercise of authority as long as possible, and the perpetuation of the administration of the Rani. In furtherance of this project, she kept her son in a state of ignorance and vice, and encouraged him in all kinds of mischievous indulgence. Part of her policy consisted in estranging him from his wife, a daughter of Man Sing, the Raja of Jodhpur; and

[1] The district was estimated to yield a revenue of from twelve to fifteen lakhs (120,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*) a year. A third of the tribute payable by Kota, or 80,000 rupees a year, was transferred to Jhalawar. These arrangements took place in 1838.

persuading him to treat his bride with coldness and neglect. The Marwar princess, a lady of lofty pretensions on the score of birth, and arrived at years of maturity, being ten years older than the Raja, highly resented this treatment, and complained of the contumely she had experienced to her father, who warmly pressed the British Agent to interpose his influence to secure for her the consideration to which she was entitled. As this was declined, the Raja of Jodhpur sent an envoy to Bundi to insist that his daughter should receive the treatment due to her superiority of rank and her nuptial rights, or that she should be allowed to return immediately to Jodhpur. Some improvement followed the intimation, and the young Rani became pregnant; an event which aggravated the aversion and jealousy of the Queen mother, and instigated her to influence the Raja to a renewal of his former disregard of his wife. Her appeals to Man Sing were repeated, and a deputation, attended by a strong body of armed men was sent to demand the return of the Princess, and to escort her to her father, who did not hesitate to express his apprehension that the lives of his daughter and her infant were insecure from the practices of the Dowager Rani. The party, three hundred strong, encamped outside the walls of the city; but there was also a considerable number of Marwaris in the town, forming the original suite of the princess. One of the newly-arrived party presented himself before the minister, Deva Krishan Rao, in public durbar, under pretext of being sent to learn when the deputation would be received; and, before an answer could be returned, he drew his sword and killed the

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minister. The assassin was attacked and slain; and the Raja ordered the chief of the deputation to be seized; but the execution of the order was delayed for the arrival from Kota of the Political Assistant, Mr. Trevelyan, to whom information of the assassination had been quickly conveyed. The gates were closed, by which the Marwaris on the outside were prevented from joining the party in the town, who had fortified themselves in a house occupied by the principal servants of the young Rani. By command of the Raja, who exhibited unexpected firmness and resolution, guns were brought to bear upon the mansion; and it was soon rendered untenable. The defenders retired to another, near the city wall, where they were surrounded by the Raja's troops. The persuasions and assurances of Mr. Trevelyan, who had reached Bundi, induced the body on the outside of the town to withdraw within the Kota frontier, and at his intercession the Rao permitted the departure of those who were in the city with exception of three of their leaders who were seized and put to death. The deputation returned to Jodhpur, where the indignation of Man Sing was vehemently excited by the death and disgrace of his emissaries. He denied having in any way authorised the murder of the minister, and asserted that it was an act of private revenge, unconnected with any inimical feeling against him for the share that might be imputed to his advice, in the indignities to which the princess had been subjected. The members of the deputation declared also that they knew nothing of the assassin, and had gone to Bundi without any hostile design against the minister, and

that they had desisted from forcing their way into the town and rescuing their countrymen, only under the impression that the political agent was responsible for their safety[1]. Great excitement prevailed throughout Haravati and Marwar. The universal feeling of the Rahtores was expressed by Man Sing, when he represented to the Political Agent at Ajmere, that life was burthensome to him; that he and his tribe would be the laughing-stock of Hindustan; they would every where be put to shame by the reproach that a Hara had killed a Rahtore, and nothing had been done to wipe away the disgrace. A long and acrimonious discussion ensued; but the firm interposition of the British authorities compelled a sullen acquiescence in the mutual oblivion of injuries; and British ascendancy averted the breaking out of a war, which, in preceding years, would, in all probability, have spread bloodshed and desolation throughout Rajputana. The approach of the Governor-General confirmed the continuance of concord, and intimidated the dowager Rani into a reconciliation with her daughter-in-law, who was restored to the good graces of her husband, to whom she had in the meantime borne a son. The murder of the minister

[1] Notwithstanding their earnestly disclaiming the purpose of killing the minister, there was reason to suspect that it was one of the principal objects of the mission. Bhubhut Sing, one of the leaders who had accompanied the party from Jodhpur, but had joined that in the city, had openly avowed his intention; and he was supposed to have been the especial agent of Man Sing in the assassination. It was also remarkable, as Colonel Sutherland observes, that the news-writer of the Political Agent at Jodhpur gave intimation of Man Sing's intention to put the Bundi minister to death several days before the crime was perpetrated; and that the report was published in the Delhi native newspapers without attracting any notice.—Sketches of Political Relations, 91.

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deprived the Raja of a valuable servant, by whose good management the debts of the state had been cleared off, the revenues had been increased, and the prosperity of the country had been augmented; but his example was not lost upon the Raja, and the condition of Bundi is said to bear favourable testimony to the character of its ruler.

We have not had occasion to advert in any detail to the affairs of the principal Rajput states since the close of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, and our retrospect of the relations maintained with them must therefore comprehend the interval which had subsequently elapsed. The prosperous condition of Udaypur, which had been the work in a great measure of the British Resident, speedily declined with his secession from the immediate direction of affairs, and the transfer to the Rana and his ministers, of that uncontrolled authority which it was their duty and privilege to exercise. The Rana, profuse in his expenditure and lavish in his liberality, was soon involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and by improvidently alienating the revenues of the crown lands in grants to his favourites greatly impoverished his resources. The Thakurs, who had engaged to restore the lands they had usurped, reluctantly and imperfectly executed their engagements, and the want of means to maintain a respectable force relieved them from any apprehension of compulsion. The same want of a sufficient body of effective troops emboldened the lawless tribes in Udaypur and on its confines to renew their depredations, and their ravages supplied the cultivators with a plea for the non-payment of the

government revenues. From these circumstances, the defalcation in the public finances became daily more considerable, and the Rana was unable to pay the tribute which he was bound by treaty to discharge. The pecuniary interests of the Company being thus endangered, resort was again had, in 1823, to more decided interference. In consequence of the interposition of the Resident, the minister Sheo Lall, by whom the prodigality of the Rana had been checked, and the demands on the chiefs resolutely urged, and who had therefore been displaced, was restored to power. The Kalsa lands were let out to farm: the collection of the customs was superintended by officers appointed by the Resident, and the personal expenses of the Rana were limited to a fixed sum. The same amount of control that had been at first exercised by the Resident was again vested in him through the urgency of the case, and at the desire of the Rana; and he became virtually the Prime Minister of Udaypur. Beneficial consequences resulted from the arrangement. In the course of two years, or in 1825, the revenues and expenditure were equalised, the debts of the Rana were liquidated, and the arrears of the tribute discharged; although the improvement of the financial interests of the state was impeded by the disturbed condition of several of the hilly districts, and the predatory practices of their inhabitants, the Minas and Bhils, on the south and west of Mewar.

The south-western portion of Udaypur, designated Chappan, formed an irregular square, of which the capital, the cantonment of Nimuch, and the towns of Dungarpur and Pertabgerh, might be considered as the angles. It consisted chiefly of

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a series of hills and forests, of which the most inaccessible portions were occupied by tribes of Minas; but the plains and more open parts were cultivated by other and more industrious races; and many tracts were in a highly prosperous condition. The forest tribes inhabited small villages on the skirts of the hills, each under its own headman, and of which several constituted a Pal, also under its elected chief. The villages covered a considerable extent, as every house was detached, having round it a patch of ground sufficient for the supply of the moderate wants of the mountaineers, whose principal food was the meal of Indian corn, and buttermilk the produce of their herds, which found pasture in the wilderness. A number of Pals constituted a Jagir, the head of which was a Rajput; who, while professing fealty to the Rana, enjoyed little authority for good among the tribes, and retained his influence chiefly by being the secret abettor, and not unfrequently the instigator of the depredations committed by his people, sharing in the plunder. These depredations were carried, in 1823, to an alarming extent; and as the irregulars in the service of the Rana were wholly unequal to check them, it was determined to send a detachment of regular troops against the marauders. Lieut-Colonel Lumley, with two Regiments of N. I., a squadron of regular cavalry, and four of Local Horse, with a train of artillery, accompanied by the Resident, and a body of the Rana's military, marched into the hills. The Minas made no attempt to oppose them: concealing their women, children, and cattle, in the recesses of the hills, and, abandoning the villages, they lurked in

the surrounding thickets, cutting off stragglers, stealing or maiming the baggage cattle, and harassing the line of march. Cavalry could not reach them. The matchlocks of the irregulars were ineffective, and the musquets of the Sipahis were often fruitlessly discharged against an object scarcely distinguishable from the bushes, amidst which the Minas cowered. The chief weapon of the mountaineers was the bow and arrow, which they used with singular force and precision, and many of the men and horses received serious and sometimes fatal wounds. It was evident that regular military operations could be undertaken with little prospect of success; and measures of conciliation were tried, which, combined with the destruction of a few villages, and the awe inspired by the presence of the Company's troops, had the desired effect. The head-men were induced to come into camp, and engagements were formed with them personally to the exclusion of their nominal chiefs, whose Jagirs were resumed, and to whom lands were given in the plains as compensation. The villagers subscribed to conditions, by which they promised to pay through their Gomaitis, or head-men, the stipulated proportion of the crop, and to give up their weapons, and admit the establishment of police stations among their hills, and to abstain from all acts of violence and plunder: from putting their infants to death, and from killing cows. In requital of which obligations they were exempted from a number of vexatious and oppressive demands formerly made by the Jagirdars. The regular troops were then withdrawn, and police-stations were established at convenient places. The Minas appeared to be well satisfied with the change.

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As long as these stipulations were enforced, a tolerable degree of quietness was preserved; but some of the sequestrated lands were restored by the Rana's officers to their former occupants. Those who were still dispossessed recovered sufficient influence to excite the people to tumult and plunder. The example of the adjacent districts encouraged the repetition of disorder; and, although no formally organised system of resistance was developed, yet Chappan continued for several years to be the scene of partial outbreaks and frequent acts of violence and rapine.

A principal cause of the difficulty of preserving subordination among the Minas of Chappan was the incessant state of disorder which prevailed throughout a similar tract of country, extending to the south and east of Udaypur from the confines of Dungarpur to the borders of Sirohi, tenanted, in great part, by Bhils, but numerously interspersed with the descendants of a mixed race sprung from Rajput fathers and Bhil mothers. To this class, known here collectively as Grasias, the chiefs belonged; and their blended affinity with either class of the population secured them the fidelity and attachment of both. The Grasias had probably occupied these tracts originally as feudatories of Mewar; but for many years they had yielded no service which was not compulsory; and the Rana of Udaypur had not, for a long period, been able to extract from them homage or revenue. Conceiving, however, that the Rana was entitled justly to both, and that the pecuniary claims of the British Government, which pressed heavily on his resources, required that he should be enabled to

realise what was due to himself, it was deemed advisable to comply with his earnest solicitation, that the Resident would take upon himself the enforcement of his demands on the districts of the Grasia chiefs, and compel them to pay a tribute or a proportion of their crops to the public treasury. Advantage was taken of the presence of the regular troops employed in Chappan to intimidate the Grasia chiefs into acquiescence; and for a time it was successful. The chiefs, while asserting their claims to independence, acknowledged the supremacy of the Rana; agreed to pay him a small annual tribute; to admit military stations within their boundaries; and promised to abstain from all acts of violence and pillage. They declared, however, their inability to keep their people in order; and threw the maintenance of tranquillity and security upon the Rana. As long as a regular force was on the spot, the Bhils and Grasias, although occasionally harassing them and cutting off stragglers, refrained from any serious molestation of their neighbours the peaceable Ryots or cultivators of the lands, from inter-village feuds, and from depredations on travellers and traders. This source of intimidation was not long held over them. In the beginning of 1827, instructions from the authorities in England forbade the employment of the Company's troops for the purpose of preserving order in the territories of allied princes; and agreeably to the orders received from home, the detachment which had been sent from Nimuch was recalled to cantonments. The peace of these wild districts was consequently left to the troops of the Rana stationed at the several Thanas, in very insufficient strength, and composed

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of men undisciplined, imperfectly armed, ill paid, and not unfrequently cowardly or disaffected. Of such a force the Bhils stood in little fear; and the Thanas were the objects of repeated and desperate attacks. They usually, however, maintained their ground; a result attributable solely to the untiring energy and skilful arrangements of a British officer, Captain Black, assistant to the Resident, to whose personal superintendance, the management of these districts was entrusted. By the judicious manner in which the several posts were distributed, and by the confidence of the men in the vigilance and activity of their commandant, each station was assured of support in the moment of danger; and resolutely resisted its assailants until the expected re-inforcements, which never failed, arrived. The character of his men, and the nature of the country, prevented Captain Black from following up his successes; and he was restricted, by the inefficiency of his means, to a course of defensive operations against, not a mere desultory rising of barbarians banded together for plunder, but against an almost universal insurrection of the Bhils, in vindication of the claims of a chief whom they considered unjustly deprived of his rights; and who, by his personal character and his connection with other Thakurs, exercised a very extensive influence over the wild tribes of the Grasia hills.

At the time of effecting settlements with the Grasia chiefs, one of their number, the Rao of Jawas, was prevailed upon to place his Jagir entirely in the hands of the British Agent, and to be contented with a small portion only of his here-

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ditary chiefship. He not only acquiesced in the arrangement, but submitted cheerfully to the authority of the Rana; and, on several occasions, rendered good service to the stations which were attacked by the Bhils. The general feeling in the hills was, nevertheless, that his submission was the effect of fear, and that he was only temporising; an impression apparently erroneous, the Rao being a young man of no resolution, who had enjoyed little power while nominally independent, and who probably cared but little whether a British officer or an overbearing kinsman relieved him of the burthen of government. That kinsman was not equally indifferent. Dowlat Sing, the maternal uncle of the Rao of Jawas, who had hitherto managed the estates of his nephew, accompanied by a confidential servant, Govind Khwas, a man of great activity and daring, refused their assent to the negociation, and returned to the hills, where they kept up, for more than four years, a perpetual state of irritation and alarm. The indiscriminate rapine which they allowed their followers to commit, rallied round them all the desperate characters of the hills; and, aided by the contributions which they received secretly from the other Grasia chiefs, and which it was said they obtained even from persons of influence about the Court, they were enabled to give solidity to their marauding bands by enlisting Arab and Sindh mercenaries from Guzerat and Sindh. At the head of these, they repeatedly attacked the Thanas under Captain Black's superintendence, and especially that of Khairwara, which commanded the road from the Eastern to the Western

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hills. On one occasion they brought against it three hundred matchlock men and two thousand Bhils; but the steadiness of the irregulars, and the prompt succours which they received through the admirable arrangements of Captain Black, as well as the courage inspired by his presence, foiled the assailants. Had a single station been overpowered, the whole of the border villages would have been in a state of open rebellion; the suppression of which would not have been effected without the employment of a powerful force and the loss of many valuable lives.

The vacillating policy of the British Government had for some time past discountenanced the interposition of the Resident in the affairs of Udaypur, and the Rana and his minister had been left once more without aid or control. The necessity in which the minister was thus placed of requiring support from other quarters, together with the absence of any check upon his proceedings, led him into an extravagant course of corruption and expenditure, to maintain a fund for which intolerable exactions were levied from the people. The Thakurs also, no longer intimidated by the presence of British troops, broke their engagements, withheld their payments and their quotas, and plundered the domains of the Crown. The bordering tribes, encouraged by the weakness of the Government, and the example of the chiefs, became still more daring in their outrages, and carried their devastations to the gates of Udaypur. The insecurity of person and property, from the numerous bands of robbers who infested the road, and the extortions of the fiscal

officers of the minister, completely ruined all commerce, and put a stop to cultivation. The emergency roused the Rana to exertion. The minister was again dismissed, and the exactions of the collectors prevented. Some of the hill chiefs, who had been replaced in their fiefs, were prevailed upon to co-operate with the Rana's detachments, under Captain Black, in restoring order; and through their aid, several villages, which had become notorious for deeds of pillage and murder, were attacked and destroyed. The British Government also found itself obliged to interfere effectively; and while awaiting the organisation of a local corps, which Captain Black was authorised to levy, a detachment of three regiments of Native Infantry was sent from Nimuch, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Burgh, to act under the directions of the Resident. Combining with the display of power thus at his disposal the conciliatory principle of restoring the dispossessed chiefs to their sequestrated Jagirs, under restrictions calculated to prevent their exacting from the villages more than a due proportion of the crops, and subjecting them to the supremacy of the Rana to be exercised through the superintendance of a British functionary, the restoration of order went briskly forward; and towards the end of 1827, the Minas of Chappan had mostly returned to the peaceable cultivation of the lands under their former chieftains. The progress of pacification in other directions was suspended by the untimely death of Captain Black, who fell a victim to the unhealthiness of the climate. His duties were for the time transferred

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to Captain Spiers, Political Agent in Sirohi, who was equally well acquainted with the nature of the country, and the character of the population. The evident determination of the British Government to take an active share in the suppression of the disorders by which the country had been distracted soon exercised a salutary influence, and the border chiefs of Panarwa, Jowra, Mherpur, and Ogna, presented themselves in the camp of the superintendant, and professed their disposition to return to the duties of allegiance to the Raja. Dowlat Sing, hopeless of prolonging the contest with advantage, accepted the offers which were made to him of pardon, and a provision for his maintenance, until he should recover his authority in Jawas, upon its restoration to its former ruler. The fermentation which his expulsion from his hereditary rights had excited was thus allayed; and as much security and order restored to the hills as could be expected from the habits of the people. The main body of the troops consequently returned to Nimuch, leaving detachments for a time at Khairwara, and on the Sirohi frontier.

Shortly after the pacification of his border districts, or early in 1828, the Rana of Udaypur, Bhim Sing died: his reign, protracted through more than half a century, had witnessed extraordinary changes in the condition of Hindustan; the decay and extinction of the Mogul empire; the ascendancy, decline, and final overthrow of the Mahrattas; and the first dawn and full expansion of the British power[1].

[1] In 1826, Bhim Sing conversed with the British Resident on the changes which, in common with other parts of India, his dominions

His reign had been fertile in vicissitudes: he had experienced all the sufferings which Mahratta and Patan insolence and rapacity could inflict; but his latter years had been free from insult, and his country had been protected from predatory aggression. The indolence of his disposition, and the weakness which rendered him the tool of favourites, prevented him from reaping the full benefit of the change; and the constant urgency of his new allies and protectors, for punctuality in the discharge of his pecuniary obligations, must have been scarcely less obnoxious to him than the exactions of Amir Khan. He preserved, however, uniformly, a calm and dignified deportment, worthy of his high descent and his pre-eminent rank among the Hindu Princes of India. He was succeeded by his son Jivan Sing, who, during the last years of his father's life, had exercised considerable influence in public affairs, and by whose experience and ability it was expected that the affairs of Udaypur would be retrieved. One of the first steps taken towards the new Raja was the recurrence to the policy of non-interference, which had now become avowedly the principle of the Government: the preservation of tranquillity in the Mina and Bhil districts of Udaypur was declared to

had suffered from the aggressions of the Mohammedans, and the conquests of the Mahrattas; but none of these events were in his opinion so unintelligible as the empire of foreigners, who came from the West in ships, from a country before unknown. "Seated in Durbar in the halls of his ancestors, with his princely son, the present Maha Rana, on his left hand, and surrounded by the nobles and chiefs of his house, Bhim Sing discussed these subjects with a frankness and good humour, which belong in a more remarkable degree to a Rajput than to any other native of India." Sutherland's Political Sketches, 71.

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be of no material concern to British India. The management of these territories was accordingly relinquished. The Rana assumed the charge of Chappan, and the Grasia hills were replaced under the exclusive control of their several chiefs—the whole being held responsible for the conduct of their subjects towards the adjacent states; a responsibility which the Grasias declared they could not undertake, when the British troops or the Rana's were withdrawn, as they could not control the turbulent and marauding propensities of their dependants. Notwithstanding these representations, and the evils certain to result to the peace, not only of the Grasia hills, but of Sindh and Malwa; and the insurmountable bar thus opposed to the improvement of commercial intercourse, the Government persisted in its purpose—the regular troops were withdrawn—the levy disbanded—and the barbarous tribes on the frontiers privileged to rob and murder without fear of hindrance or punishment from the paramount power. The political connexion with Udaypur was shortly afterwards still further relaxed by the abolition of the Residency, the communication being transferred to the Political Agent, stationed at Ajmere, in subordination to the Resident at Delhi. The tribute, which had fallen into arrears, was discharged[1]; but the debt incurred on account of the expense of military

[1] In 1831 the arrears of tribute amounted to Rupees 5.13.000, and the expenses of military operations in the hills to two lakhs; the latter was remitted. The tribute had been commuted from a proportion of the revenue, to the fixed annual sum of three lakhs; but this was complained of as pressing too heavily on an income, the whole of which rarely equalled ten lakhs; and it has since been reduced one-half.

operations against the Bhils and Grasias was remitted. The Raja, who in the outset of his reign had fallen into a course of dissipation, adopted a change of conduct; and by his application to business effected important reforms in the administration of the revenue and the police, by which the internal tranquillity of his country was preserved, and border-violences were kept under some restraint. Little intercourse has since been held with Udaypur[1].

The feud which we have had occasion to describe between Man Sing and the Thakurs, who were concerned in his temporary deposal, and the elevation of his son, having apparently lost some of its virulence, the Political Resident at Delhi was induced to interpose his good offices to perfect the reconciliation. At his suggestion, the Raja consented in 1823 to receive envoys from the chiefs, and to attend to their representations, promising them free leave to come and to return, whatever might be the result of the negociations. Notwithstanding this promise, the Vakils were arrested when on their way to the capital—cast into prison—and menaced with death, upon the accusation that they had treacherously tampered with the villagers in the Jagirs belonging to their masters which had been sequestrated, in order to accomplish their recovery. As no attempt was made to substantiate the charge, the Resident strongly remonstrated against the breach of faith which had been committed, and effected the liberation of the envoys. This affair

[1] It became necessary, however, in 1840, in communication with the Rana, to raise a Bhil corps for the purpose of keeping the tribes of Chappan in order, constituting the Mewar Bhil Corps, under British officers.

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was scarcely settled, when he was appealed to by the Court of Jaypur, to interfere in behalf of the sister of the late Raja, who was married to Man Sing, and who complained of being treated with injustice and inhumanity. On the other hand, the Raja represented to the Governor-General, Lord Amherst, that the Resident, Sir David Ochterlony, was unduly biassed in favour of his disobedient Thakurs, and supported them in their opposition to his commands. He maintained, also, that the countenance given to the pretensions of Sirohi to independence, was a violation of his right to supremacy, and he demanded the restoration to his own officers of that portion of Mherwara, which had been taken under the British management. This district, the country of the Mhers, a wild hill and forest tribe, situated on the southern and south-western confines of Ajmere along the frontiers of Malwa and Marwar, was, in fact, an integral portion of Ajmere, but portions were claimed by Jodhpur and Udaypur. Their sovereignty was, however, little more than nominal; for the Mhers detested the Rajputs, yielded them none but forced obedience, and retaliated for the aggressions on their independence by predatory devastations. Their proximity, and the undiscriminating nature of their outrages, rendered it necessary at an early period, after Ajmere became a British province, to curb their excesses; and an arrangement was made with the Rajput princes, by which the whole of Mherwara was placed under the superintendence of a British officer; and portions of the revenue to be collected were assigned to them respectively. Under this system the state of things

soon changed. A few examples were at first necessary; but the Mhers gradually submitted to British authority, desisted from their ravages, and resorted to peaceable and agricultural avocations. A moderate assessment was imposed, and realised without difficulty, and the district made rapid advances towards prosperity[1]. To have restored it to the inefficient hands of the Rajputs would have thrown it again into disorder, fatal to its own improvement, and troublesome to its neighbours; and the application of Man Sing, as well as a similar one at a later period from the Rana, was not assented to. In order to explain to the Raja the grounds of the refusal, as well as to promote the adjustment of his disputes with his chiefs, Mr. Wilder was despatched in the beginning of 1824, to Jodhpur. His negociations were successful. Man Sing was persuaded to execute an agreement, pledging himself to pardon the refractory Thakurs[2] and restore the confiscated estates—to admit the presence of an accredited officer of Jaypur to be attached to the especial service of the Jaypur Rani, and to leave

[1] The whole revenue raised in Mherwar in 1823-4, was but 10,000 rupees; in 1830-1, it amounted to 43,000 rupees. In the first three years after the settlement, the annual payments of nett revenue to Udaypur were 13,000 rupees, 17,000 rupees, and 28,000 rupees, although the seasons were unfavourable. Udaypur had never before realised any revenue whatever. In 1832, an agreement was made with the Rana for eight years' additional revenue of 20,000 rupees.

[2] The principal of them were the Thakurs of Pokarn, Nimaj, Asobh, and Ahwa; the first was the grandson of Siwai Sing, the uncompromising adversary of Man Sing from the first, and supporter of the claims of Dhokal Sing; this chief succeeded in retaining his fort and part of his lands. Nimaj was the son of Surtan Sing, who was killed in the affray at Jodhpur, occasioned by the Raja's attempt to seize his friend, the Thakur of Pokarn. The two last were accused of being concerned in the murder of the Raja's minister, and the usurpation of the prince. The lands of all three had been confiscated by Man Sing; but he had not been able to get possession of the town of Ahwa.

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Mherwara under its present management for a further period. An attempt was made to prevail on him to commute the military quota, which he was bound by treaty to furnish whenever required, for a money payment of equivalent value; but to this proposal he steadily declined to accede.

The reconciliation of Man Sing with his chiefs was neither sincere nor permanent; and on various pretexts he persisted in retaining the sequestrated lands, or instituted fresh spoliations, compelling them to emigrate from Marwar, and seek refuge in the neighbouring territories of Jaypur and Bhikaner. The altered policy of the British Government interdicted the repetition of the Resident's interposition, even for the fulfilment of engagements contracted under its sanction, and at its suggestions; and the Thakurs were left to redress their injuries by their own unaided strength; although redress was manifestly hopeless, except by an appeal to arms, and through the interruption of that tranquillity which it was the office and duty of the paramount power to preserve unbroken. Accordingly, in 1827, the chiefs invited Dhokal Sing, who we have seen was asserted to be the posthumous son of the last Raja of Marwar, and to have, therefore, a preferable title to that of Man Sing, to join them in the Jaypur country whither they had fled; and they engaged to acknowledge him as their prince, and aid him to establish his rights. The invitation was eagerly accepted. Dhokal Sing, who had for some years resided in the British territory at Baraich, left his residence, and hastened to Jaypur, where he found the Thakurs of Nimaj, Asobh, and Ahwa, with their

retainers. Several of the Jaypur and Bhikaner chiefs joined his camp; and the Regent Rani of Jaypur, who cherished an intense hatred of the sister of Man Sing, also one of the wives of the late Raja, who had treated the Rani-mother with disdain on account of her inferior descent, and who always affirmed the spurious origin of the minor Raja, assisted Dhokal Sing with men and money; and by these succours he was enabled to collect a force seven thousand strong, with which he marched into Marwar. The remonstrances of the British Agent at Ajmere, compelled the native states to disavow their support of Dhokal Sing, and to recall their subjects from his service; but their acquiescence was merely external, and they continued secretly to aid his enterprise. Dhokal Sing encountered no opposition, and advanced to Dudhwana, a populous town not far distant from Jodhpur[1].

The re-appearance of Dhokal Sing, and the support which he had received from the Thakurs of Marwar, seriously alarmed Man Sing, and impelled him to look to the British Governmeut for protection. He immediately sent envoys to Delhi and to Ajmere, to represent that the Government, by suffering Dhokal Sing to set out from the British dominions with hostile purposes against him, had impressed both his subjects and those of the neighbouring states with a belief that they countenanced his pretensions, and that they had consequently con-

[1] In favour of Dhokal Sing's pretensions, it was argued, that he was allied by marriage to some of the most illustrions families of Jaypur and Jodhpur, who never would have given him their daughters, unless they had been assured of the genuineness of his descent. Man Sing, who was the grandson of the Raja of Jodhpur, Bijay Sing, always denied the authenticity of his birth.

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tributed to his success; and he demanded the assistance of troops to oppose, not a rebellious dependant, but a foreign invader—for such was the true character of Dhokal Sing, and against all such enemies the Government of India was bound by treaty to arm in his defence. The application was referred to the Governor-General in Council, who was disposed to regard the disturbances in Marwar, as a struggle between the Raja and his feudatory chiefs, whom he had driven into exile and rebellion by his own acts; and against whom the British Government was not pledged to protect him. It was admitted, at the same time, that as a competitor for the throne had been set up by the chiefs, the case was somewhat complicated, and as the Raja's personal safety, as well as sovereign authority, was imperilled, he might be thought to possess some claim to interference. It was, therefore, resolved, to comply with his application, on the condition that he should consent to submit his differences with his Thakurs to the arbitration of the Government, and engage to abide unhesitatingly by its decision. A cautious provision was, however, made for abandoning him to his fate, under the possible contingency of his proving the weaker party. With this view the Political Agent was apprised—that if the insurrection should be so general, as to indicate the almost universal desire of the Raja's chiefs and subjects for his deposal, and his own condition should be so helpless as to leave him without power to make head against their rebellion, then there would not appear to be any reason for undertaking to force

on the state of Jodhpur, a sovereign, whose conduct had deprived him of the support and allegiance of his people. If, on the other hand, the insurrection was only partial, and the Raja continued to be supported by a respectable portion of the chiefs and the people, then the mediation was to be offered, although not as a right, as asserted by Man Sing, in virtue of the existing treaty. Native Princes were expected to have the power of controlling their own subjects; and if they drove them into rebellion, they must take the consequences: the British Government was not under any obligation to defend them in such cases. In these instructions it was assumed that rebellion was the natural result of oppression; an inference unwarranted by the past history of Rajputana, which repeatedly exhibited the feudatory chiefs of the several states combining against their sovereign for the furtherance of their private interests, or the gratification of private resentment. It was assumed, also, that there existed a people with political rights and wishes, which was utterly at variance with the actual condition of affairs or the state of society; the merchants, artisans, and agriculturists of Marwar being wholly indifferent in the quarrel, and preferring tranquillity, however preserved, to the triumph of either the Thakurs or the Raja: and to consign a protected state to be desolated by the ravages of a civil war, which the slightest degree of interposition would at once have prevented, was an obvious dereliction of the obligation which the British Government had undertaken, of maintaining the peace and prosperity of Hindustan. There was, in fact, no real difference whether

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hostilities occurred between the Rajas of Jaypur and Jodhpur, or between the Thakur of Pokarn and his liege lord. In either case, the interruption of trade, the desolation of the fields, the assemblage of lawless undisciplined bands, and indiscriminate rapine and murder, were certain to ensue; and it was the duty of the British Government, as the paramount power, to prevent, what it might easily prevent, the perpetration of outrages, which tended to bring back the times of anarchy, which had at first compelled its interference with the politics of Central India.

The intimation of the purpose of the British Government to mediate between Man Sing and his rebellious chiefs, was received with ready submission by them both. No material advantage had been gained by either, and although Dhokal Sing occupied Dudhwana and threatened Nagore, he and his adherents had been unable to raise the siege of Ahwa by the Raja's army. Neither seemed inclined to risk an encounter in the field, or was able to keep on foot an effective force for want of funds to pay the troops. In this condition of weakness, Dhokal Sing was apprised that he must retire from Marwar, or he would be treated as an enemy to the British Government. He immediately complied and withdrew to Bhikaner, expressing a hope that some provision would be made for him — a hope he was not allowed to retain, as no notice was to be taken of him in any negociation that might be instituted. None was, however, opened. The proposed interference had impressed the contending parties with a conciliatory disposition, and terms were settled

between Man Sing and his Thakurs by mutual agreement. The confiscated lands were restored to the principal chiefs, and the possessions and privileges of others no longer menaced. Hostilities consequently ceased. BOOK III. CHAP. VIII. 1828-35.

The termination of actual hostilities in Marwar failed to restore to the principality the advantage of order and good government. Man Sing was superstitiously devoted to a sect of religious mendicants or Jogis, from whom he chose not only his spiritual guides, but his principal counsellors, entrusting to them a large share of his revenues, and the whole charge of the administration[1]. Great abuses followed; and the hill tribes, a prey to the exactions of the fiscal officers, abandoned their villages, and turning robbers, plundered the contiguous districts. The frontier of Sirohi particularly suffered; and the ravages in that direction were secretly encouraged by Man Sing. The expostulations addressed to him were either unavailing, or provoked manifestations of sullenness and disrespect; an instance of which was displayed in his declining, upon frivolous excuses, to meet the Governor-General at Ajmere in 1831, although

[1] The origin of his devotion to the Jogis, commenced with a lucky guess made by Deo-nath. When Man Sing was besieged in Jalore, and proposed to surrender, Deo-nath promised, if he would wait two or three days, he would effect a change in his position. It so happened, that on the third day, his cousin Bhim Sing, then Raja of Jodhpur, died, and Man Sing was called to the succession. He ever after believed implicitly in the supernatural knowledge of the Jogis. Deo-nath was murdered, as described vol. ii. 179, and one cause of Man Sing's inveteracy against the chiefs, was their being implicated in the murder. His son, Ladu-nath, kept alive this feeling in the mind of the Raja. Of the revenues of Jodhpur, estimated at thirty-seven lakhs (£370,000), seven were alienated in favour of the Jogis and their temples. Ten lakhs formed the jagirs of the Thakurs, leaving twenty for the Raja. The Jogis had, also, five per cent. on the revenues of the Khalsa or Crown Lands, which were valued at fifteen lakhs.

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the Rana of Udaypur, and the young Raja of Jaypur, his equals or superiors, afforded him an example. The tribute also fell into arrears, and the urgent demand for payment made by the agent at Ajmere was not calculated to improve his temper. He was also compelled to furnish his quota of 1,500 horse to serve with a British detachment sent from the Bombay presidency in 1833, under Col. Litchfield, against the robber tribes of the desart of Parkur, whose depredations on Sirohi were secretly instigated by the Raja. The British troops defeated a body of the Khosas, and, advancing to Chattan and Balmer, two of the principal towns, took and destroyed them. The Jodhpur contingent not only proved useless, but were convicted of treacherously giving the Khosas private information of the movements of the force, and endeavouring to obstruct the capture of Balmer. After its capture, the leader of the Khosas was secreted by the commandant of the Jodhpur horse, who very unwillingly gave him up to the determined demand of Colonel Litchfield. The capture of Balmer was a source of profound vexation to Man Sing, who ascribed the success of the expedition in part to the co-operation of the Jesselmer contingent which had also been called out, and shortly afterwards displayed his resentment, by allowing his troops to invade and lay waste the Jesselmer territory, carrying their ravages to within twelve miles of the capital. Obliged to recall the troops by the menaces of the Political Agent, Man Sing denied that they had entered Jesselmer with any other intention than that of concerting with the Raja's officers the means of

suppressing border disturbances, and unhesitatingly asserted that they had not committed any outrage; an assertion notoriously untrue. Other acts of violence followed on the Krishnagerh territory, which were traced to a feudatory of Jodhpur; and chiefs adhering to the party of the Raja were allowed to connive at the depredations of marauding bands, affording them an asylum, and sharing their booty. As this conduct could not be overlooked with any regard to the character of the British Government, Man Sing was informed that he would be held responsible for these disorders, and desired to suppress them; but he either disputed their occurrence, or professed his inability to prevent them. He also asserted his right to shelter fugitives from justice, and refused to apprehend and give up a number of Thugs who had escaped from the pursuit of the British officer into the Marwar territory. To such a degree of audacity were the banditti of Jodhpur excited by the conduct of the Raja, that a strong party attacked and plundered the residence of a British medical officer situated close to the station of Ajmere. As there appeared to be no likelihood of prevailing on Man Sing to take any measures for preventing these excesses, or indemnifying the sufferers; and as he pertinaciously refused to deliver up the malefactors who had fled into his territories, it was judged advisable to have recourse to more absolute means, and force him to acquiescence, or dispossess him of his dominions. It was accordingly determined to recur to military operations; and a force was assembled at Ajmere after the rains of 1834, under the command of Brigadier

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Stevenson[1], which was destined to move against Jodhpur. Their services were not requisite: the demonstration sufficed. A deputation of his most confidential and respectable advisers was despatched by Man Sing to Ajmere with full powers to concede whatever was demanded[2]. The only difficulties turned upon the payment of the expense of the armament, which the envoys declared the inability of the treasury of Jodhpur to discharge; and the relinquishment of the privilege of protecting persons who should take refuge within the confines of the principality. These were, however, surmounted; and an agreement was concluded, by which Man Sing consented to indemnify the people of Sirohi, Jesselmer, and Krishnagerh, and Dr. Mottley, for the damages committed by the Jodhpur robbers. 2. To address a letter to the Governor-General in a respectful form, expressing his regret for the past. 3. To give up fugitive Thugs without detriment to the general right of 'Sarana,' or protection of persons seeking asylum within his territory[3]. 4. To admit the

[1] Consisting of three troops of horse, aud seven companies of foot artillery, two squadrons of His Majesty's 11th dragoons, 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 7th regiments of cavalry, and Blair's local horse, His Majesty's 26th foot, and eleven regiments of Native Infantry; the 3rd 6th, 22nd, 23rd, 28th, 32nd, 36th, and 51st, 61st, and 68th with siege and field trains.

[2] "What occasion could there be," inquired the Vakils, "for the march of an army against the Raja? a single Chaprasi (a servant wearing a badge,) sent to Jodhpur to communicate the Governor-General's pleasure, would have secured obedience."

[3] The obligation to grant protection to persons soliciting it without any reference to the occasion which has made them need it, is of universal recognition by the Hindus, is one of their most cherished prejudices, and is apparently of ancient date. The feeling, probably, originated in a state of society, when there was little protection of persons, either by the laws or the government; and has in India, at least, survived its advantages.

arbitration of British officers in regard to the mutual claims of Jodhpur and Sirohi for acts of border violence. 5. To reimburse the cost of the troops collected against him. 6. To furnish his contingent in a state of efficiency. This last condition was finally commuted to the payment of an annual sum which was applied to the maintenance of a local corps, the Marwar Legion, which, under British officers, has been employed to prevent disturbances and depredations on the confines of Sirohi and Marwar. A share of the Salt Lake and district of Sambhar, which appertained to Jodhpur, was taken possession of as a security for the payment of the pecuniary demands upon the Raja. The subsequent transactions with Jodhpur belong to a later date.

The intercourse with Jaypur, through the whole period embracing the administrations of Lord Amherst and Lord W. Bentinck, was more intimate and more uneasy than that maintained with any of the leading states of Rajputana; and after exhibiting the extremes of interference and of abstinence from interference, terminated in a catastrophe which was wholly unprecedented, and which was followed by a still closer and more authoritative connection. We have already had occasion to advert to the necessity of appointing a permanent Resident at Jaypur, arising out of the infancy of the Raja, the regency of his mother, and the conflicting pretensions of competitors for the duty of conducting public affairs. The latter had been silenced by the compulsory retirement of Jota Ram, a man of the mercantile profession, and a 'Sraogee' or Jain by

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religion, and the appointment of Rawal Bhyri Sal, one of the principal Thakurs of the state, and the nearest in affinity to the Raja, to the office of Mukhtar or Manager—the struggle was far from being ended.

The departure of Jota Ram from the Court of Jaypur, was followed by no diminution of his influence with the Rani; and he kept up a constant correspondence with the Zenana, through Rupá, a Bandharin, or slave girl, who had acquired the most absolute ascendancy over the mind of the regent mother. His interests were also represented by his brother, Hookum Chand, Sraogee, who was permitted to retain the charge of the disbursements of the female apartments. To these individuals were united several of the Thakurs, the personal or political opponents of Bhyri Sal, and their joint efforts were incessantly directed to occasion embarrassment in his administration, and involve him in discredit with the British Resident. Among other intrigues, a formidable mutiny was excited among the troops; and five battalions marched from their quarters, and occupied the city on the usual plea of requiring payment of arrears. Bhyri Sal was threatened with their vengeance, and was obliged to fly to the Residency for protection. With some difficulty, and only after troops had been ordered from the cantonments of Nasirabad, the mutineers were prevailed on to retire; but the country was in a general state of alarm and insecurity, and a serious defalcation of the public revenue was incurred, which was likely to impede the punctual payment of the tribute due to the British Government.

As the Rani mother and her partisans attributed the public disorders and the decrease of the revenues to the incapacity and malversation of the Rawal, and insisted that the only remedy for such an unsatisfactory aspect of affairs was his removal; and as the advantages expected from his nomination had not been realised, Sir David Ochterlony recommended, in 1824, his displacement, and the formation of a new ministry, to be appointed by the Rani. The recommendation was adopted. Megh Sing, one of the Thakurs of the Rani's faction was made Mukhtar, and Hookum Chand, Dewan, or Minister of Finance. Bhyri Sal was allowed, on submitting his accounts for audit, to retire to his Jagir of Samode, under the guarantee of the British Government for his property, his life, and his honour. He was also permitted to have a representative in regular attendance on the Resident. The new ministers were the creatures of Jota Ram and the Bandharin; and the conduct of public affairs became every day more notoriously inefficient and corrupt. Doubts began to be entertained also as to the existence of the young Raja; for, although he should have made his appearance in public, having attained his seventh year, he was still secluded in the privacy of the female apartments of the palace; and had not been seen by any of the chiefs or people for the last three years. The doubt was not confined to the popular voice. It was openly expressed to the Resident, by the Raja of Bhikaner, whose daughter was the affianced bride of the Raja of Jaypur, and who insisted on the presentation of the young Raja, if really living, to his chiefs, and the appointment

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of one of them as his guardian. The appearance of the Raja in public, was nevertheless, still delayed; and the Rani persisted in ascribing all the popular discontent, and the embarrassment of the finances, to the effect of Bhyri Sal's misgovernment, pressing importunately for permission being granted to Jota Ram to return to Court, as the only individual capable of restoring the affairs of Jaypur to a prosperous condition, and enabling her to discharge with regularity the tribute to the Company. Her importunities at length succeeded, and Jota Ram was allowed, early in 1826, to return from his exile, and again exercise his personal influence over Rupá and her mistress.

The restoration of Jota Ram to power was most distasteful to many of the principal Thakurs; and they earnestly requested the interference of the Resident, to obtain their admission to the presence of their Raja. "If you were not here," they observed, "we should soon compel the Regent Rani to produce her son;" and they complained bitterly that soldiers of a tribe so distinguished as theirs, of kin to the oldest princes of Hindustan, should be subject to the orders of bankers and women. They professed their readiness to obey whatever the Resident should command. The reports of the death of the young Raja gained extensive credence; and it was affirmed, that the child having died, a Brahman boy had been secretly introduced into the Zenana, in his place, by Rupá, to personate the son of the Rani, and so prolong her regency, and that from her instrumentality in this plot, proceeded her despotic influence over her

mistress. In order to put an end to these rumours, the Resident was ordered to require the Rani to state what her intentions were with regard to the production of the Raja. She consented that his public appearance should take place on his attaining his eighth year; but objected to the attendance of Bhyri Sal and the chiefs of his faction: while he claimed a right to be present, and to take precedence as the hereditary Patel[1] of the Raj. The disputes on this subject, and with respect to the Rani's right to fix the time for the Raja's appearance rose to great violence, and apprehensions were entertained of a civil war, if the chiefs with their adherents should be congregated at Jaypur. In the mean time the Rani contrived to hold an informal levee, at which the young Raja was introduced and presented to the Resident, and to a few of the chiefs who supported the party of the regent mother. The question of the continued regency of the Rani, or of the appointment of a guardian was next to be decided; and its determination was not likely to be peaceably settled, without the interposition of the British Government.

Most of the Thakurs had been drawn to Jaypur by the expected public appearance of the young Raja; but those only of the Rani's faction were allowed to enter the city. Bhyri Sal and his confederates were encamped outside. The instructions of the British Government sanctioned this assemblage, and directed the Resident to take advantage of the

[1] The term is usually confined to the head of a village: but it was not incompatible with that of a Thakur, or military chief, indicating the primitive agricultural character even of the Rajput noble.

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opportunity to collect the votes of all the chiefs, with regard to the right of the Rani to retain the regency, and appoint her own Minister. Seventy-two Thakurs attended at the Residency, and the majority voted against the Rani's claims, affirming that the management of affairs should now be entrusted to a male guardian, and that the fittest person for the office was Rawal Bhyri Sal. A few days afterwards, their opinions underwent a change. The Political Resident at Delhi, Sir Charles Metcalfe, having come to Jaypur at the end of 1826, and repeated the scrutiny, found that a large majority now voted in favor of the continuation of the Regent Rani's absolute authority. No precedent existed for its cessation at any given period under maturity: nor did it appear that the usages of the Rajputs authorised any appeal to the chiefs on the subject. At a subsequent visit to the palace, where a conference was held with the Rani through the usual screen, the young Raja came from behind it, and seating himself on the knees of Sir C. Metcalfe, threw his arms round his neck, and begged for protection for himself, and support for the rights of his mother. Both parties were willing to leave the decision entirely to the British Resident, but he preferred to repeat the appeal to the chiefs, after winnowing the list and excluding those who were considered not entitled to vote. The number was thus reduced to fifty, and out of them twenty-eight voted in favour of the Rani's claims. She was guaranteed in the retention of the Regency and the privilege of nominating her officers. Rao Chand Sing was accordingly appointed Mukhtar, or Vice-Regent, and Kahan Sing commander of the

forces; Hookum Chand made way for his son-in-law Prem Chand, but continued virtually Minister. Jota Ram had no ostensible office, but was, in fact, Regent. A public Court was held, at which the young Raja, seated on the lap of the Resident, received the homage of all his chiefs, except Bhyri Sal and his principal adherents, who withdrew from Court. Sir Charles Metcalfe, after visiting the Rana of Udaypur, returned to Delhi.

The new Government was not more prosperous in its administration of affairs, than any of its predecessors. The great objects of the persons in power were to enrich themselves at the expense of the state, and to humiliate and despoil the chiefs who were opposed to them. The different factions became more inveterate in their mutual animosities; and they were only prevented from coming to open hostilities by the guarantee which the British Government had granted to the chiefs as long as they preserved their allegiance to the Raja, a guarantee which, while it baulked the vindictive projects of Jota Ram, retained the Thakurs in obedience through apprehension of the forfeiture of the security by any act of violence originating with themselves. The misappropriation of the revenue produced its usual results—arrears of pay to the troops, and their consequent insubordination, oppressive exactions from the peasantry, and their abandonment of their fields for a life of robbery and murder—arrears of the tribute payable to the British Government, and threats of assuming territory for its liquidation. Jota Ram in fear of his life, which was threatened by the mutinous soldiers, was compelled to

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disgorge some of his ill-gotten treasure, and succeeded for awhile in averting the storm. Arrangements were also made for the payment of the arrears of tribute; and its regular discharge was promised by the Rani, if the British Government would consent to the public recognition of Jota Ram as the prime minister of Jaypur. Hitherto, although he had been allowed to return to the capital and exercise the full weight of his personal influence with Rupá and the Rani, he had not been invested with any official character, in consequence of the reluctance of the Government of India to acknowledge him in a ministerial capacity. The objection was now waived, in the hope that he might be able to act with more confidence and energy when publicly responsible, and devise some remedy for the disorders of the principality.

The measures adopted by the new minister, although not inconsistent with the interests of the state, were ill-calculated to allay the resentment and jealousy of the Thakurs, as it was proposed to make them answerable for all plunder committed by their followers — to deprive them of some of their hereditary offices — and to displace by regular garrisons the troops of the Thakurs, who originally occupied certain forts, having lands assigned to them on that account, which lands were to be resumed. A demand was also made upon the chiefs for a money contribution for the maintenance of the troops of the Raja; a tax which, although formerly levied, had been discontinued for many years. These arrangements provoked general dissatisfaction among the chiefs; and many of those

who had supported the Rani and her minister now deserted her cause. Troops were raised on either side. The four hereditary governors of Ranthambore, a strong fortress jointly garrisoned by contingents of the chiefs, and a detachment of the royal forces, expelled the latter, strengthened the fortifications, and collected the revenues of the surrounding districts. Hookum Chand, with the regular battalions, was sent against the fort, and urgent applications were made in 1830, to the Political Agent, at Ajmere, for the assistance of troops to quiet the disturbances, under the article of the treaty which bound the British Government to protect the territory of Jaypur. As this protection was designed against external enemies only, the assistance was refused; and all interference was declined beyond an intimation to the Thakurs, who had the benefit of the British guarantee, that if they failed in the performance of their prescriptive duties, the guarantee would be withdrawn. The parties were, in a great measure, left, therefore, to their own passions, the effects of which were speedily manifested in the general prevalence of disorder and tumult, and the perpetration of violent outrages not only within the limits of Jaypur, but on all the surrounding districts.

The mutual weakness of the parties compelled them, after some idle indications of reciprocal animosity, to desist from hostilities, and concur in an apparent reconciliation. The privileges of the Thakurs were acknowledged; and all were admitted to favour, except Bhyri Sal, between whom and Jota Ram, there subsisted an unappeasable hatred;

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and the young Raja of Khaitri, whose Jagir the minister, taking advantage of his youth, was bent upon sequestrating. That the Raja of Jaypur had been tutored to adopt the policy of his mother's chief councillor, was evident from the tenor of his communications with the Governor-General, whom he visited when at Ajmere; and his subsequent correspondence, and that of the Rani with Lord William Bentinck, in which they earnestly pressed the annulment of the guarantee, and the exclusion of the Vakils, or agents of the Chiefs, from access to the Political Agent. These requests were refused; but the Raja was assured that no interference would be exercised with the internal administration of his principality, beyond the specific instances in which a guarantee had been granted; and that such security would be considered as cancelled by any disregard of the obligations, which, according to the usages of the Raj, were incumbent on its feudatories. Putting his own interpretation on these concessions, Jota Ram shortly afterwards levied a powerful army; and, under pretence of enforcing the military contribution due by the Thakurs, and restoring order in the Shekhawati country, in which Khaitri was situated, despatched it against the latter: menacing at the same time Samode, the Jagir of Bhyri Sal, who was accused of having employed assassins to murder the minister; and Chamura, the estate of one of the sons of Bhyri Sal, who had been adopted by the former chief, and had succeeded in virtue of that adoption, which the Minister pretended to regard as invalid. Although informed that these aggressions would

not be permitted by the British Government, as the Jagirs in question were under its protection, and desired to recall his troops, it was not until he was threatened with an advance of a British force that he consented to remove them from the menaced districts. The accusation against Bhyri Sal, of having employed hired assassins to destroy Jota Ram, was made the subject of a special investigation by Captain Spiers, who was sent for the purpose to Jaypur, and was proved to be utterly without foundation: all proceedings against the Rawal were, therefore, positively interdicted.

The malevolence of Jota Ram having been frustrated of the object which he had endeavoured to accomplish by force of arms and by false accusations, he resorted to other expedients, and attempted to substantiate claims against Bhyri Sal to a ruinous amount for the arrears of the military contribution, to which the Rawal denied that he had ever been liable. The representations of both parties were submitted, through the Political Agent, to the Governor-General. Those of the Raja and the Rani, evidently under the dictation of the Minister, were couched in the most intemperate language; accusing the Agent of partiality and corruption; and intimating a want of reliance on the justice and impartiality of the Governor-General himself. For this style of communication they were reprimanded, and the Raja was obliged to offer an imperfect apology. At this period, early in 1834, the Rani regent died; and it was announced that the Raja was now of sufficiently mature age to undertake the personal conduct of the administration. Jota Ram, however,

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continued to retain his ascendancy, and to persist in his vindictive projects against Bhyri Sal and his friends. Their execution was suspended by the alarm occasioned by the assemblage of a force at Ajmere, although collected without any hostile intention towards Jaypur.

The force assembled at Ajmere was at first intended, as we have seen, to march against Jodhpur: but when its movements in that direction were arrested by the timely submission of Man Sing, the next object of its employment was the subjugation of the robber chiefs of Shekhawat, who for some years past had infested the territories on their confines with predatory incursions, and had latterly committed daring acts of outrage upon the subjects and dependants of the British Government. Nominally feudatories of Jaypur, the chiefs of Shekhawat paid no regard to the injunctions of the Court; and confiding in the strength of their forts, and the desart aridity of their soil, pursued a reckless career of insubordination and rapine. As the Jaypur Government was either unable or unwilling to put down the Shekhawati plunderers, the task was undertaken by the Government of India, and a part of the Ajmere force was directed to march against them[1].

The division entered the Shekhawati country at the end of November, 1834; and was met by the Sikhar Raja, one of the most powerful of the Thakurs, who placed himself and his town at the disposal of the

[1] Consisting of two regiments of Cavalry, the 4th and 7th, and the 3rd Local Horse, six regiments of N. I., two troops of Horse, and five companies of Foot Artillery, with Sappers and Miners.

British Agent. His example was followed by the other chiefs; and their forts were given up without resistance. On advancing to the north, a detachment of Local Horse, commanded by Lieutenant Forster, encountered some opposition in attempting to apprehend Sujawal Khan, one of the most notorious of the plundering chiefs; but the Shekhawatis were defeated and their leader was secured. The different strongholds in this part of the country were also occupied; and such as had been the haunts of the banditti were dismantled. After the accomplishment of these duties, the army was broken up, a small detachment only being left in the province until a contingent force, to be raised in the country from among the feudatory tribes, known as Larkhanis, Bidawats, Barautias, and by other designations, and placed under British officers, could be organised. The country was retained, and the tributes due to Jaypur transferred to the British authorities; and the portion of the Sambhar Salt Lake and district belonging to Jaypur was also occupied until the cost of the expedition should be reimbursed. The more respectable chiefs professed to be well-pleased with the change of rule; but the whole transaction gave great offence to Jaypur. At an early stage of the proceedings, Jota Ram had repaired to Ajmere, where he had expostulated against the expedition as unnecessary, engaging to prevent the repetition of the excesses of the Shekhawatis. When he found that his inclination or ability to effect the object was doubted, he requested permission to accompany the force; but his presence was thought more likely to embarrass than to facilitate

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communication with the chiefs, and his request was declined. On his return to Jaypur, he counselled the Raja to protest against the occupation of the Shekhawati district and the Sambhar lake, or to be made responsible for the military charges; and the disregard shewn to his wishes was attributed to the private enmity which the Political Agent, now Major Alves, was accused of entertaining against the Minister. Strong suspicions were suggested of the motives of Jota Ram's anxiety concerning the Shekhawati expedition; and there were good reasons to infer his participation in the booty of the plunderers. A general rumour also prevailed, that the Raja was held in a state of restraint which left him no longer a free agent; and a still more serious charge against the Minister was shortly afterwards current.

Soon after the dispersion of the Shekhawati field force, or in February, 1835, the Raja of Jaypur died. His death was sudden. No previous indisposition had been heard of; and an almost universal opinion was current that his end had been accelerated by the machinations of Jota Ram and Rupá Bandharin, in order to prolong their ascendancy during the minority of the infant son of the Raja. The popular belief that the Raja had been poisoned was publicly manifested when the body was carried to be buried; and the attempts to silence the demonstration occasioned an affray, in which several lives were lost. Jota Ram professed his anxiety to resign his authority, and suggested that the British Government should take the administration upon itself. His sincerity was questionable, for he was known to

be engaged in active intrigues to gain partizans; and a letter was pretended to have been received by him from the mother of the infant, imploring him to remain to watch over the interests of her son. Although conceiving that a present investigation of the charges against Jota Ram and Rupá would not be likely to lead to any satisfactory result; the Government admitted that the universality of the belief was a sufficient reason for their removal. The resignation of the former was accepted; the latter was desired to leave the palace. The guardianship of the infant Raja was undertaken by the British Government; and the Political Agent was directed to repair to Jaypur, and concert with the principal chiefs the arrangements to be adopted. Agreeably to these resolutions, Major Alves went to Jaypur, where his timely arrival prevented a threatened tumult and affray. Many of the Thakurs, with their armed retainers, were in the city. Jota Ram's adherents were also numerous, and commanded the mercenary troops of the palace, and the people were in a state of violent agitation. After consulting with Bhyri Sal and the other chiefs, it was determined that the personal charge of the infant Raja should remain with the mother; but that the administration should be intrusted to a council of the principal chiefs under the presidency of Bhyri Sal, and in communication with the Political Agent. Jota Ram was sent off to Deosar, about thirty miles from Jaypur; and Rupá was conveyed to a residence in the town, where a guard of British Sipahis was required to protect her from the fury of the mob. The council of

BOOK III. CHAP. VIII. 1828-35. Regency was formed; and notwithstanding the intrigues of a party to obtain power by instigating the mother of the Raja to lay claim to the Regency; the new government was apparently in the course of acquiring consolidation and efficiency, when its labours were interrupted by an unexpected and alarming disturbance, attended with an attempt upon the life of the Resident, and the murder of Mr. Blake, his assistant, and of several of the native servants of the Residency.

On the 4th of June, the Resident, attended by Mr. Blake, Lieutenant Ludlow, and Cornet Macnaghten, had an interview with the Rani mother and the Thakurs, at the palace. As the party quitted the palace, Major Alves, when mounting his elephant, was attacked by a man from among the bystanders, armed with a sword, by whom he was severely wounded. The assassin was seized: the Resident, whose wounds were not mortal, was placed in a palankin, and accompanied by Lieut. Ludlow and Cornet Macnaghten, conveyed to the Residency. They met with neither insult nor molestation as they passed through the city, nor did Mr. Macnaghten, who returned to the palace, encounter any obstruction. Having recommended Mr. Blake to leave the assassin, who had been well secured, in charge of the guard, Mr. Macnaghten again quitted the court-yard to rejoin the Resident, and upon his issuing from the gateway, was assailed with all kinds of missiles from the mob outside, from which he escaped with difficulty. The tumult was confined, however, to the immediate vicinity of the palace, and other parts of the town presented no

appearance of excitement. Reports had been insidiously spread among the crowd, who had assembled about the palace gates, that some undefined act of violence had been perpetrated by the British Resident, and the ferment thus excited was aggravated by the appearance of Mr. Blake, who held in his hand the blood-stained sword of the assassin. As he left the palace on his elephant a number of armed men, chiefly Minas, joined by the mob, attacked him, and endeavoured to hamstring the elephant or climb up into the howda. Stones and spears were also thrown at him; and finding it would be impossible to make his way alive through the furious multitude, he stopped at a temple, and with one attendant chaprasi, and the driver of the elephant, entered it through a window, as the doors were closed. Two persons in the temple conducted the party to a small chamber and shut the doors, endeavouring to provide for their safety; but the mob forced their way in, and while some of them burst open the doors, others ascended the roof, and breaking through it hurled various missiles upon the fugitives. Mr. Blake then attempted to quit the chamber, but was cut down as soon as he left it. The chaprasi was also killed. The elephant driver was saved. The body of Mr. Blake was cast into the streets, but was recovered on the following day, and sent to the Residency by the Rawal, who, although somewhat tardy in his exertions, succeeded in suppressing this tumult without much difficulty. The chiefs at Jaypur united in expressing their regret and indignation, and their determination to punish all concerned in the outrage.

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Several of the most active in the affray were accordingly apprehended and sentenced to death; and a minute investigation was instituted with regard to the origin and instigators of the crime. From the depositions of the assassin and of another miscreant who had led the attack upon Mr. Blake, with other collateral and documentary evidence, the instigation of the crime was traced to a knot of Jain bankers of Jaypur, partisans of Jota Ram, and acting under his suggestions and those of his brother and nephew, Hookum Chand and Futteh Lal. The main object of the plot was to embroil Bhyri Sal with the British Government; and the murder of the British Resident was to be perpetrated with the design, either of its being imputed to the treachery of the Thakur, or to establish his incapacity for the office with which he was invested, and his inability to maintain order in Jaypur. The popular tumult which followed the assault upon the Resident and led to the murder of Mr. Blake, was in some measure the work of the emissaries of the conspirators; but it arose in a still greater degree from the contagious influence of causeless agitation upon a turbulent crowd, many of whom carried arms, and from a mixed feeling of fear and hatred of Europeans. The excitement was, however, the work of the moment. The city in general had remained tranquil; and the tumult round the palace was allayed by the very first efforts of the authorities for its suppression. No demonstration whatever was made by any class of the people in favour of those who were apprehended and condemned; and they all paid the full penalty

of their crimes by the sentence of a native tribunal of the principal Thakurs. Death was inflicted on those who had been convicted of being personally engaged in instigating the murder of the Resident or in perpetrating the death of Mr. Blake. Jota Ram and his brother were sentenced to the same fate, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life in the British territory. Other subordinate agents were imprisoned for various periods. A military detachment was ordered from Nasirabad for the protection of the Resident and the Regency, but its services were not needed, and it was recalled. The presence of the Political Agent was felt to be essential to the efficiency of the native government, and he was continued at Jaypur. At a subsequent period, it became necessary to appoint a permanent Resident, and to place the council of Regency under his immediate protection. Such being the termination of the long-continued and mischievous policy of holding back from interference with the internal government of Jaypur, and leaving it to the uncontrolled will of a weak and vicious woman and an unprincipled and profligate minister.

The secondary states of Rajputana suffered in various degrees from the same undecided policy; and during its operation were subjected to internal disorder and external aggression. The disputes between the Raja of Krishnagerh and his feudatories, which ended in his abdication, have been already adverted to, and they were not quieted until they had exposed the bordering districts, including that of Ajmere, to be ravaged by the lawless bands of mercenaries who were enlisted on either side, and

who, ill-paid and insubordinate, supported themselves by undistinguishing plunder. The petty states of Dungarpur, Banswara, and Pertabgerh, as long as they were under the direction of British officers, subject to the authority of the Resident at Indore, enjoyed internal tranquillity, and were gradually advancing in prosperity; when the discontinuance of the separate agencies, and the relaxation of British control over the misrule of their princes, again subjected them to the depredations of the neighbouring forest tribes of Bhils and Minas, and the contumacious conduct of their dependant chiefs; the immediate effects of which were the diminution of the revenues, and the arrears and ultimate reduction of the tributes. The state of Sirohi, which had been reduced to extreme wretchedness by the aggressions of its neighbours and the imbecility of its rulers, was, in like manner, recovering from its depression, when the removal of the Political Agent, who was directed to station himself at Nimuch, in the general charge of the affairs of Sirohi, Banswara, Dungarpur, and Pertabgerh, and who could no longer, therefore, exercise an immediate personal influence over the proceedings of the Rao, threw the principality back into its former state of disorganization. As much of the mischief resulted from the depredations committed on the frontier by the plunderers from Marwar, they were in some degree checked by the military demonstration against Man Sing; but the nature of the country, the habits of the people, and the feebleness of Sirohi, still continued to encourage aggression; and the Government was obliged

to admit that it was necessary to take more effectual, measures to put a stop to the system of outrage which prevailed, and protect the valuable trade which passed between Guzerat and Pali, in Marwar, across the Sirohi country. With this view, one of the military assistants of the Political Agent, was stationed on the frontier, in command of a detachment of the Jodhpur contingent, and afterwards of the Jodhpur, Legion under British officers. An arrangement which effectually provided for the security of the frontiers. In Jesselmer and Bhikaner, interference had, at an early date, been exerted to repress internal dissensions, and although the practice was discontinued, the good effects in part subsisted, and no serious interruption of tranquillity arose from disputes between the rulers and their feudatories. Border quarrels, however, occurred, in consequence of which, an army was sent by the Raja of Bhikaner, to retaliate for outrages committed by the subjects of Jesselmer, and a military invasion of the same country followed mutual frontier aggressions on the part of Bahawalpur. The forces of the latter were, however, spontaneously recalled by the Nawab, in consequence of alarming movements of the Sikhs, threatening the invasion of his territory; and the Bhikaner troops were withdrawn by the desire of the British Government, as their employment was a palpable violation of international tranquillity. As the necessity of more active interposition began once more to be experienced, a British officer, Captain Trevelyan was deputed to bring the disputes between these Rajput

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Princes to an amicable termination[1]. The resolute tone with which Man Sing had been intimidated into submission — the display of military strength in the Shekhawati country — the virtual assumption of the administration of Jaypur — and the authority now exercised to enforce the maintenance of peace between contending princes — all of them departures from the principle of non-interference, were attended with the most beneficial consequences, redeeming the British Government from the charge of indifference to the best interests of the native states, and affording the only security for the perpetuation of order and the promotion of prosperity in Hindustan; reliance on the will, as well as on the power, of the paramount state to repress public violence and punish political delinquency.

A few months prior to the catastrophe at Jaypur, Lord William Bentinck had resigned his high office, and departed from India. For his management of the relations with the native states, and the mischievous consequences by which it had been succeeded, he was less responsible than the superior authorities in England, whose orders it was a principle of his administration implicitly to obey. The more vigorous measures subsequently adopted, although forced upon him by circumstances, were more entirely his own, and were entitled to the merit of decision, and adaptation to the necessities of the native principalities. The attention of Lord W. Bentinck had, however, been more especially directed

[1] The objects of the mission were completely effected.—See Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rajwara in 1835, by Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau, Calcutta. 1837.

towards the improvement of the Company's possessions; and, although some of his proceedings might have been of questionable expediency, their general tenor was eminently conducive to the present and prospective amelioration of British India. He diminished the burthens, and augmented the resources of the Government; placed in the course of equitable and beneficial adjustment the revenues of the Western Provinces; afforded liberal encouragement to both European and native industry; promoted the extension of the education of the natives; released them from the trammels of one of their most debasing superstitions; freed them from the scourge of one of the most desperate races of miscreants who preyed upon their domestic intercourse, and brought them forward cheerfully and cordially into public situations of trust and respectability, from which they had too long been excluded. His instrumentality in effecting the military retrenchments, ordered by the Home authorities, and a disposition which he occasionally manifested, to mistrust the integrity of the public servants, drew down upon him at first extensive unpopularity; but this seems to have been dissipated before the general persuasion that he was actuated by a sincere desire to promote the advancement of British India in civilisation and prosperity, and by a firm conviction that this great end was to be mainly effected by the diligent and upright discharge of the duties imposed on the servants of the Company, not for their own benefit, but for the good government and happiness of the vast population over whom they were placed in authority. In his earnestness

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to excite and encourage their perseverance in this honourable career, he may have sometimes been too little regardless of individual feelings; but his purpose was as much to uphold the credit and efficiency of the European officers of the state, as to secure the welfare of its native subjects. He was not unsuccessful in either of these objects; and a dispassionate retrospect of the results of his government will assign to Lord William Bentinck an honourable place amongst the statesmen who have been intrusted with the delegated sovereignty over the British Empire in the East.

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings in England.—Termination of the Company's Charter.—Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament.—Parliament dissolved.—Committee of House of Commons re-appointed,—interrupted and renewed,—appointed for the fourth time,—divided into Sub-Committees.—Reports submitted.—Questions at issue.—Monopoly of China Trade,—Objections to its continuance,—replied to.—Correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Ministers.—Paper of Hints.—Government of India to be left to the Company.—Objections of the Court.—Necessity of Commerce for the Government of India.—Payment of Territorial Charges in England dependant on Proceeds of Trade.—Deficiency of Revenue made good

in part by Commercial Profits.—Reply of Mr. Grant.—Property of the Company to be transferred to Territory, and Dividends to be charged to it.—Objections of the Court.—Demand Securities.—Insinuated Liabilities of Assets.—Qualified Assent of the Court.—Stipulation for a Guarantee Fund, and for liberty to appeal to Parliament,—objected to.—Question referred to Proprietors.—Proceedings of General Courts.—Resolutions proposed,—Amendment,—carried by Ballot,—communicated to Ministers,—consent to modify the Terms,—still objected to by the Court.—Ministers persist, and the Court submit.—Dissent of the Chairs.—Arrangements agreed to by the Proprietors,—submitted to Parliament.—Pecuniary Claims on Natives of India.—Claims of Bankers on the King of Oude.—Interference declined by the Court,—required by the Board.—Mandamus applied for,—not persisted in.—Claims on the Zemindar of Nozid,—disallowed by the Court,—adopted in Parliament.—Act passed in favour.—Claims of Mr. Hutchinson,—submitted to Parliament,—rejected.—Renewal of Charter brought before Parliament.—Observations of Mr. Grant.—Measures proposed.—Remarks of Mr. Wynn and Mr. Buckingham.—Resolutions passed and communicated to the House of Lords.—Opposition of Lord Ellenborough and Duke of Wellington.—Clauses of Bill discussed in both Houses,—communicated to the Court of Directors,—Objections of Court to a Change in the Constitution of the Indian Government,—to a fourth Presidency,—to Abolition of Subordinate Councils,—to additional

Member of Council,—to Increase of Ecclesiastical Establishment,—and to Alteration in Appointment of Civilians.—Petitions against the Bill,—not received in either House of Parliament.—Bill passed the House of Commons.—Recommendation of the Court of Proprietors to acquiesce.—Dissent of Chairs.—Motives for its Adoption.—General Court determine by Ballot to accept the Bill.—Bill passed into a Law.—Termination of Company's Commercial Existence.—Concluding Remarks.

BOOK III. CHAP. IX. 1826.

THE proceedings of the Houses of Parliament and the Court of Proprietors during the early years of the period that has been reviewed, exercised no material influence on the substantial interests of British India. The disposition evinced by Lord Amherst at the commencement of his administration, to adopt the views of his predecessor with regard to the restrictions imposed on the public press, a disposition which, however, was soon laid aside, excited the hostility of a small party amongst the proprietors, and provoked them to bring forward inculpatory motions suggestive of his recall. The unpropitious opening of the war with Ava, supplied materials for plausible denunciation for a season, but the improved progress of the armies, and the final humiliation of the enemy, with the capture of Bhurtpore, imposed silence on the cavillers, and converted the proposed votes of censure into an almost unanimous tribute of approbation. This result has been already noticed; and nothing further of any importance occurred, until

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it became necessary for the Legislature to take into consideration the question of continuing for a further period, the privileges and political functions of the East India Company.

The right of exclusive trade with India, had been withdrawn from the Company on the last renewal of the Charter; but they had still continued to carry on a limited import from India, chiefly in silk and saltpetre, for the purpose of effecting remittances to provide for charges in England; and through India, principally in cotton with China, to assist in providing funds for the purchase of their investments of tea at Canton. The amount of their Export trade to India had long been inconsiderable, and the trade had latterly ceased altogether so that the Company might be regarded as no longer connected with India by commercial relations. The trade had fallen entirely into the hands of the manufacturers and merchants of Great Britain; and they now looked with confidence to a like transfer of the traffic with China to free mercantile competition. The Company's Charter expired in 1834. In 1829, petitions from the principal manufacturing and commercial towns, were presented to both Houses of Parliament against its renewal, and a motion was made by Mr. Whitmore, in the House of Commons, for a Select Committee to investigate the subject. The nomination of the Committee was postponed till the ensuing session, when the ministers undertook to recommend its appointment; and, accordingly, early in February, 1830, select Committees were agreed to in either house, upon the motion of Lord Ellen-

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borough, President of the Board of Control, in the House of Lords; and of Sir Robert Peel, Secretary of State, in the House of Commons. In proposing the formation of the Committees, the ministers carefully abstained from the expression of any opinion with regard to the renewal of the Charter, or from pointing out any modification which might be made in the existing system by which India was governed. It was their wish to leave the question to the calm and dispassionate judgment of the Parliament formed upon a deliberate consideration of the information which it would be the business of the Committees to collect; and upon which it would become their duty to report. The inquiry imposed upon the Legislature higher obligations than almost any other in the whole sphere of public affairs. The question, however important to the commerce of the Empire, was not confined to commercial interests: it involved the whole character of the Government of India, the mode in which it might best be administered for the prosperity and happiness of the people, the reputation of the Legislature, and the dignity and rights of the Crown. Some objections were taken to the comprehensive character of the inquiries to be instituted by the Committee; and some doubt was expressed, whether the consideration of the constitution of the Government of India, the condition of the people, the administration of the law, the state of the finances, and the commercial interests at stake, were not subjects too distinct and difficult to come within the grasp of a single Committee. Some exceptions were also taken in the House of Commons, to the composition of the Committee;

but they were overruled, and a Select Committee in either House "was appointed to inquire into the present state of the affairs of the East India Company; and into the trade between Great Britain and China, and to report their observations therefore to the House." The committees were formed accordingly, and proceeded to take evidence, and collect information, which was from time to time laid before their respective houses. Their labours were brought to an early close by the dissolution of Parliament, on the 24th of July, consequent upon the death of the King, and the accession of William the Fourth; but they had previously accumulated much important oral and documentary testimony, calculated to prepare the public mind for a more mature investigation at a subsequent season.

The first months of the Session of the new Parliament were wasted in violent party-struggles, which ended in the displacement of the Ministry, and the appointment of an administration pledged to accomplish Parliamentary reform. Amidst such vehement contests, the claims of India were little likely to be heard; and it was not till February, 1831, that the Select Committee of the House of Commons, for the purpose of enquiring into the affairs of the Company, was re-appointed. Further evidence was heard, and additional documents were compiled; but the proceedings of the Committee were again interrupted by the dissolution of Parliament in April, arising out of the differences of opinion respecting the Reform Bill, which had been introduced in the preceding Session. The Committee was once more instituted, soon after the

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meeting of the house, in the middle of June; but, like its predecessor, enjoyed but a brief vitality, Parliament being again dissolved in the following October, in consequence of the rejection of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords. In January, 1832, the Committee of the House of Commons was appointed for the fourth time, with a suggestion that it should resolve itself into several Sub-Committees, whose attention was to be directed to the different heads of the inquiry. The Committee was accordingly sub-divided into six branches, the several objects of which were classed: as Public—Financial, including trade—Revenue—Judicial—Military—Political. Evidence, oral and written, was collected with great assiduity; and in August, a Report was submitted by the Committee, which comprised the several topics of the investigation, and supplied the ground-work of the arrangements proposed by the Ministers to the Company and to Parliament.

However comprehensive the investigation in its constituent details, the great questions which had to be determined, resolved themselves into but two, the continuance or cessation of the Company's exclusive trade with China—the continuance or cessation of the Company's administration of the Government of India. The determination of the first was never for a moment doubtful—that of the second was the subject of more deliberate hesitation. Although the Ministers refrained from offering to the Legislature any intimation of their intentions, yet, from their earliest communications with the Court of Directors, it was evident that the exclusive

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privilege of the trade with China could no longer be continued, consistently with the expectations of the great body of the manufacturers and merchants of Great Britain. They maintained that the monopoly of the Company imposed upon the country at large, for the benefit of the Proprietors, a heavy tax in the extravagantly high prices demanded for their tea, which had become an indispensable article[1] of the daily consumption of all classes of the community—that it was vain to expect any considerable reduction of the price as long as the trade remained in the hands of the Company, as it was required to cover the cost of a most expensive system of management—an exorbitant charge for freight—and the maintenance of a princely establishment, which the past practice of the Company had rendered essential, but by which the private merchant would not be encumbered. With a diminution of cost and charges, and a more moderate computation of profits, the sale-price of the article would be reduced to a level with that which was paid in the markets of the Continent, and of America; and teas of good quality would be brought within the reach of every order of the population; the demand would consequently be proportionably augmented, while the comforts of the poorer classes would be materially befriended. There was another point of view, in which important advantages might be anticipated from throwing open the trade to individual enterprise, and the same result which had

[1] Estimated by some of the witnesses at from £1,250,000 to £1,700,000 per annum. Financial Report, Comm. House of Commons, 1830.

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followed the opening of the commerce with India, a vast extension of British exports, might be confidently predicted. The Company's exports to China had always been of limited value, and had latterly even declined; but, looking to the immense population, and the wealth of China, and the inferiority of its manufactures, it was wholly inconceivable that the country should offer so insignificant a market for the cottons and woollens of Manchester and Glasgow, or the hardware of Birmingham and Sheffield. The deficiency was imputed not to the absence of consumers, but to the inertness of the Company; and when their obstructive interposition should be abolished, the commerce of Great Britain would, no doubt, exhibit, in respect to China, the same elasticity which it had manifested in every other region where it laboured under no artificial compression. The distress which prevailed in England, and the difficulties to which trade and manufactures had for some time past been exposed, also urgently called for the alterations which new and improved channels of export could alone provide; and no quarter of the globe presented so novel and promising a field as the vast and opulent empire of China.

To these assertions, it was replied; that it was not true that the prices of tea in Great Britain were enhanced beyond their natural amount by the establishments of the Company, the expense of which bore an inconsiderable ratio to the total value of the trade[1];—and that, if the prices in foreign

[1] It was asserted that the whole expenses of the factory amounted to but three per cent. on the value of the goods produced; the commission of private agents was five per cent.

markets were lower than those in Great Britain, it was because the teas were of a quality greatly inferior, the steady and valuable connection of the Company with the merchants in China, and the influence exercised by the supercargoes, securing them the preference of purchasing at a more favourable rate, and the experience of their qualified officers assuring a judicious selection. The profits of the Company on their sales of tea were grossly overrated, and the Company were not responsible for any extravagant augmentation of the sale-prices, as they were compelled to put up their teas at the cost-price, with an allowance for charges and interest of outlay, and to sell upon an advance of one penny in the pound. All additions to the up-set price rested with the purchasers at their public sales; and in truth, instead of a hundred per cent, their profits, in some years, had not exceeded six[1]: there was little prospect of a material diminution of the cost-price, for the trade in China was a monopoly, traffic in all the most valuable commodities—tea, raw silk, woollens, and cotton—being reserved by law to a corporation, or Hong, consisting of a few merchants, to whom the

[1] Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1830. Evidence. This, however, was in a very unfavourable season. The average annual profits of the Company on their China trade for the last fifteen years, from 1814-15 to 1828-9, had exceeded a million sterling, being 15,414,000*l*.—Ibid. 5875. According to the assertion of one witness, Mr. Rickards, the profits of the China Trade were inadequate to defray the interest on the bond debt in England and the dividends of the proprietors.—Evidence. Comm. House of Commons, 1830. 3435 a. and 3764 a. But these statements were shown clearly to be erroneous; by counter statements submitted by Mr. Melvill.—Ibid. 4375. 5875. The Report of Mr. Pennington, an accountant employed to revise the Company's accounts, shows a profit on their whole commercial transactions in fifteen years of 20,488,000*l*.

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China Government restricted trade with foreigners; and, as private merchants would not have the same power of resisting their combination as that which was exercised by the Company, they would be exposed to any degree of extortion in the purchase of the teas which the Hong merchants might inflict. It was very unlikely, therefore, that the selling-price would be much reduced, although very inferior kinds of tea would be imported. A fluctuation of prices might be also anticipated, which was now guarded against by the condition of the Charter, which made it imperative on the Company to have always on hand, over and above the quantities in transit or in course of sale, a stock sufficient for one year's consumption—a stipulation to which private importers could not be subjected; and they would be alone guided by their own interested views in proportioning the supply to the demand—occasioning at one time a scarcity, at another a superabundance, to the great inconvenience and detriment of the consumers. In fact, there was great danger of a total deficiency of supply. The policy of the Chinese Government had always been averse to foreign trade and to foreigners; and although aware of the advantages derived from the intercourse, might be disposed, if offended by the misconduct of the traders or ship's crews, to close the port of Canton, as had been done in regard to other ports in China, to foreign commerce. The local authorities were interested in the continuance of the trade; but they were notorious for their arrogance and cupidity, and had been only deterred from a system of insulting and vexatious extortion, under which

the trade must have languished or expired, by the firm, calm, and judicious conduct of the Company's servants. The beneficial effects of their interposition had given shelter and security to private trade; and European and American merchants settled at Canton were protected from Chinese intolerance by the presence of the Company's factory. If that were withdrawn, and private merchants visited Canton without some such protection, they would be helpless against the course of contumely and exaction which they would have to undergo, and which must prove fatal to commercial intercourse. The same disinclination to foster foreign commerce would not fail to check the introduction of British goods, even if the demand for them should exist; a fact which was rendered highly problematical by the continued importation into China of Bullion in preference to merchandise. The Americans, who were influenced by no other principle than mercantile advantage, were at liberty to provide goods to any extent for the purchase of their investments, but their importation of dollars gave reason to infer the unprofitableness of any other medium of exchange. The trade with India, admitting that it had extended as greatly as had been asserted, although much exaggeration on the subject prevailed, offered no analogy to the trade with China, from a very obvious consideration. The trade with India was entirely under the control of the British Government — a government interested in giving it every possible facility, and promoting its extension. The government of China was beyond any kind of control, except

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perhaps that of force, which was not likely to be employed; and it had always avowed and acted upon principles inimical to commercial intercourse with strangers. Under such circumstances, it was not to be expected that China would become a market for British manufactures to any considerable extent; and the anticipations of those who looked forward so confidently to its unlimited demand, could only lead to disappointment, and might terminate in ruin.

Whatever truth there might have been in the arguments on either side, and as usual in all keenly controverted questions, there was a mixture of fact and fallacy in both, it was felt to be impossible to resist the clamours of the manufacturing and commercial classes. One of the cyclical periods of depression, the infallible consequence of the excess of productive power over all possible consumption, had recently returned, and the over-production and the over-trading of a season of demand, had been followed as usual by the recurrence of stagnation and distress. However engendered, the mischief demanded remedial measures; and none were so calculated to reanimate speculation and re-employ labour, as the prospect of a new and inexhaustible market in the admission of the public to the trade with China. On this point, the change of administration made no difference. The general intimation that had been given to the Court of Directors by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough, at the close of 1830, was repeated still more specifically by Earl Grey and Mr. Charles Grant, at the end of 1832. The first article of the plan proposed to the Court,

under the modest denomination of a Paper of Hints, was "the China Monopoly to cease;" and little opposition was made to the proposition by the Court. They contented themselves with suggesting that the throwing open of the China trade might be eminently detrimental to Great Britain, by removing the beneficial influence of the Company's Factory, by causing a deterioration in the quality of the teas imported, and by seriously interfering with a large revenue levied under the existing system with perfect equality to all classes of consumers, and with incomparable regularity and cheapness to the State[1]. They also expressed their doubts if any material reduction of price would be effected, as the augmented charge of collecting the duty would be an additional tax upon the consumers; and they questioned, for the reasons assigned above, the supposed advantages of an open trade in affording new marts for British manufactures. They, however, were conscious of the inutility of attempting to stem the current of public opinion, and only stipulated for a period sufficiently protracted to allow of their disposal of the stock which they were obliged by statute to have on hand.

The second great question—the administration of the Government of India by the East India Company—was too exclusively a matter of interest to India to excite much attention in England; and the Ministers were evidently unprepared to take the office into their own hands. The principle was,

[1] The average amount of the annual duty was about 3,300,000*l.* annually collected by the Company, most economically, the whole charge to the Crown being less than 10,000*l.* a year. Report Commons' Committee, 1830, p. 33.

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therefore, at once admitted; and the second article of the "Paper of Hints" proposed that the East India Company should retain their political functions. The mode in which these functions were to be exercised, was to continue in all essential respects unaltered; and the powers of the Court, and their relations with the India Board, were to remain the same, with certain modifications. In reply, the Court professed their readiness to recommend to the Proprietors to consent to be continued as a useful instrument in the execution of an important national trust, provided the means were insured to them, by which they might be enabled to administer the Government of India consistently with their own character, and with the benefit of India and of the United Kingdom; although at the same time they expressed their doubt of the practicability of accomplishing these objects if the Company were deprived of their commercial character: the means of remittance supplied by their investments being indispensably necessary to provide funds in England for disbursements made at home on account of political charges in India; and the surplus profits of their commerce with China being equally indispensable to make good the deficiencies that had always prevailed, and were still likely to prevail in the territorial revenues of India.

The payments annually made in England[1], which

[1] Consisting of payments made on account of passage of military; pay to officers, including off-reckonings; political freight and demurrage; pay-office demands for King's troops serving in India; retiring pay; pensioners, etc. etc. King's troops; civil, annual, and absentee allowances; political charges generally; including the proportion of charge for the establishments at the India House, Board of Control, Haileybury, Addiscombe, Chatham, etc.; miscellaneous expenses on

were considered as territorial charges, had for some years averaged about three millions sterling, of which nearly one million was incurred in the discharge of the principal and interest of the Indian debt, and constituted no additional burthen on the revenues. Provision, however, for the whole had to be made by funds remitted from India, and this had been most readily and economically effected by the appropriation of the requisite sums in India to the purchase of goods in India and China, and the realisation of their proceeds in England[1]? Deprived of these resources, the Company would have to depend upon the purchase of private bills or remittances of bullion, the former of which would be attended with uncertainty and risk, and might, expose the company to an enhancement of the price of the bills beyond their value in exchange, by a combination on the part of the merchants; and the latter would be liable to create inconvenience and pecuniary distress in India.

A still more important consideration was the mode of providing for the deficit of the revenues of India, which had constantly occurred upon a term of years; and which had been only partly made up by the loans raised by the Government.

account of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, etc.; territorial stores; charges at St. Helena; advance to Public Institutions repayable in India, etc.—Report, Committee, House of Commons, 1832. Finance Report of House of Lords, 1830. App. Accounts from 1814-5, to 1828-9.

[1] From 1814-5, to 1826-7, the application of Territorial Funds to the purchase of investments for remittance, averaged 2,028,000*l*. of which 1,155,000, were applied to the purchase of Indian Investments, and 873,000 to the investments in China. Whatever further sums were necessary, were mainly derived from the profits of the China trade, and advanced to Territory.—Report Comm. House of Commons, 1832. Finance.

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The average annual excess of the charges abroad and at home, had been, for the last five years, ending in 1828-9, 2,878,000*l.*, and no material reduction was anticipated. On the contrary, a further deficiency was apprehended[1]. The whole excess of charge from 1814-15, to 1828-9, including miscellaneous outgoings, something less than one million, amounted to 19,400,000*l.*, of which there had been raised by borrowing 14,642,000*l.*; the rest had been furnished by the direct application of surplus commercial profits, to the extent of 4,762,000*l.*, or above one fourth of the deficiency[2]. Before, therefore, the company could undertake to conduct the administration of the government of India, it would be indispensably necessary that they should be secured in the regular supply of funds to defray the territorial payments to be made on account of India in England.

In reply to the first of these difficulties, it was stated by mercantile men and capitalists, who were

[1] Estimated as likely to exceed in 1834, the deficit of 1828-9, by £827,000.—Third Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1831. Accounts and Papers, No. 6. Other computations made it range from rather more than a million to little more than one hundred thousand pounds.—Comm. Report, House of Commons, 1832. App. 23.

[2] Statement, Report Committee House of Commons, 1832. Finance. The sum obtained from Commerce is there stated, as well as in the evidence of Mr. Lloyd, Report, House of Lords, 1830, at £4,923,000. The difference is an increase of assets of 161,000*l.* According to the statement of the Committee of Correspondence of the Court of Directors, unsupported however, by any figured documents, if the Company had not derived resources from the China trade, the public debt of India would have been upwards of seventeen millions sterling, more than it was in 1832-3, exclusive of the balance due on account to the Commercial Branch, which with interest, was computed at five millions.—P. 6 of Papers respecting the negociations with His Majesty's Ministers on the subject of the East India Company's Charter. Printed by order of the Court of Directors for the information of the Proprietors. 1833.

called in evidence, that no apprehension need be entertained as to the remittances requisite for the discharge of territorial payments in England. The amount of the trade now carried on by the Company being transferred to private merchants, would afford facilities to the same extent as those already possessed; and bills on England would be always obtainable in India and China for the funds which the excess of exports from both countries to Great Britain over the value of imports from it would require. The value of the commerce, and the extent to which it would probably be carried, would be more likely to produce competition than combination; and bills, except under unusual circumstances, would be obtainable at a rate of exchange, not exceeding the bullion value of the rupee. Should that be the case, a bullion remittance might be resorted to without any fear of its being attended with permanent embarrassment; for, if the exportation proceeded to an inconvenient extent, a re-importation would follow, and the evil would produce its own remedy: a third course would be the sale to merchants in England, of bills on the Indian treasuries, which might in general be profitably effected.

The fact of the appropriation of any portion of commercial profits, as a provision for a deficient Indian Revenue, was the subject of a keen controversy; the opponents of the Company not only denying that such appropriation had been made, but asserting that the Commerce of the Company had been always attended with loss, and that the

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deficit had been made good by the territorial revenue, the whole of the Indian debt having grown out of the necessity of borrowing money for the Company's investments. In order to establish this assertion, it was necessary to revert to the earliest years of the trade, before the Company's acquirement of the Dewani, in 1765, from which time, until the renewal of the Charter, in 1813, the political and commercial transactions of the East India Company had been so intimately blended, that it was impossible to submit them to an unimpeachable discrimination.[1] To what extent the trade had assisted the revenue, or the revenue the trade in remote periods, could no longer be determined, and it was useless to inquire; and the only legitimate subject of investigation, was the nature of their connection, since the separation of the accounts had rendered it capable of ascertainment. With the charter of 1813, a plan was devised for keeping the territorial and commercial accounts distinct in future. Without attempting to analyse the composition of the actual property in India, or the demands against it, the Indian Debts and Assets were declared to be territorial, with a few inconsiderable exceptions. The property at home and afloat, was carried to the credit of the com-

[1] "All the statements which have been drawn out with a view to an enquiry into the relative position of the two branches of the Company's affairs, antecedently to the commencement of the present Charter, differ materially from each other, as well in point of principle as in their details and results, and show the extreme difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of arriving at any certain conclusion upon a point of which the accounts, whence the statements are drawn, do not afford either the perfect illustration or the proof."—Comm. H. of Com., 1832, Finance App. No. 2, Mr. Pennington's Report.

mercial branch; and it was charged with all debts which were not incurred on account of clearly territorial disbursements. Some doubt existed as to the assignment of the Home Bond Debt; but that was finally pronounced to be also of territorial origin[1]. From the comparison, which it thus became easy to institute, it was not to be denied that the joint commerce with India and China had realised, in the interval between 1813-14 and 1828-9, considerable profits, a portion of which had been applied to the relief of the territorial deficit[2]. But it was urged, that the commercial profits arising wholly out of the China trade were, in fact, paid by the English consumers of tea, and constituted a tax upon Great Britain in favour of the Indian revenue, which the former could not in equity be called upon to defray. Otherwise direct assistance would be the preferable course. There was no reason, however, to infer, from there having been a deficit in past years, that it must occur in future, and for ever. Its occurrence was, in all probability, attributable, at least, in part, to the reliance of the local governments upon the extraneous resources which had been found available, as it was natural that they should not be very rigorous in repressing an expenditure for the excess of which the commerce was ever ready to provide. Perseverance in the

[1] Incurred for money raised on the Company's Bonds, under the authority of Parliament, 9 and 10 Wm. III., and subsequent enactments. In 1829, the amount was £3,796,000.

[2] In addition to the application of the sum above stated to the discharge of the India Debt, the accounts on the 30th April, 1820, shewed a balance due to the commercial branch of £3,036,000.

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searching measures of economy which had latterly been enjoined, would in due time confine the expenses of the Indian Governments within the limits of their income; and no rational doubt could be entertained of the competency of India to answer all just demands upon her Exchequer. The revenue, notwithstanding occasional fluctuations, had been steadily progressive, and promised still to increase. The resources of the country, still imperfectly developed, had continued to improve, and the people had increased in numbers and prosperity. It was only necessary that the system of economy now established should be followed out with wisdom and steadiness, and the resources of the country be fostered both by active encouragement and judicious forbearance. If these objects were pursued with firmness and judgment, the financial prosperity of India would undoubtedly be secured, and the revenue be found fully equal to defray the whole charges of the state.

But, although, as far as India was concerned, the means of remitting the amount requisite to defray expenses incurred in England, and the observance of strict economy on the one hand, and an improvement of the national resources, on the other, might obviate the recurrence of any deficiency of the public income; yet, inasmuch as the East India Company was possessed both of valuable property and of valuable claims, it was required to consider how they should be dealt with for the benefit of Great Britain and of India. Whatever might be thought of the applicability of the profits

of the commerce to territorial disbursements, there was no question that they formed the source, whence the dividends payable on the capital of the proprietors of India Stock were derived; and, it was equally certain, that an amount of principal existed, the right of the Company to which could not be contested. How was this to be disposed of?

The plan suggested by the Ministers, proposed to consider the payment of the whole dividends in future as an annuity to be granted to the Proprietors, to be charged upon the territorial revenue of India, not to be redeemable for a given term, and then, at the option of Parliament, by the payment of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. In order to provide a fund for this additional charge on the Territorial Revenue, it was proposed that the whole of the Company's commercial assets, which were capable of conversion into money, should be so converted; and with the cash balance of the commercial department should be appropriated to the discharge of an amount of the Indian Territorial debt, equivalent to a capital yielding an income equal to the dividends on the Stock, or 630,000*l.* a year. This plan, therefore, involved no augmentation of the Indian debt, nor imposed any new burthen on the Indian resources. The measure was merely one of substitution, and the substitution might be effected in a manner peculiarly advantageous by the redemption, in the first instance, of the remittable loan, which pressed most heavily on the Indian finances. Instead, therefore, of impairing,

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the arrangement tended to improve, the general resources of the Indian Empire.

To these propositions it was objected by the Court, that they involved in substance the abolition of the Company, and the surrender of all their rights, privileges, and property, for no other compensation than the chance of receiving, after every other territorial demand had been satisfied, a dividend of 10½ per cent. for an unspecified term, and for the regular payment of which, as well as for the ultimate discharge of the principal, they considered the revenues of India insufficient security. They therefore required as an indispensable condition of continuing to administer the Government of India, that the Proprietors should be fully secured in the regular half-yearly payment of their dividends, and to such an amount of principal whenever redeemed, as would produce that rate of interest in the public funds. They rested their claims to these provisions on the ground that the Company was actually possessed of property amply sufficient to provide an investment in Consols, equal to the required dividend—property of which it was proposed to despoil them without any assurance of an equitable equivalent.

Whatever might be thought of the right of the empire at large to the territorial acquisitions of the East India Company, there could be no question of the rightful claim of the Proprietors to the value of their capital, and of the assets which had been created in their commercial character. According to the calculation of the Company, the Stock on the

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1st of May, 1829, amounted to rather more than twenty-one millions[1]. But this sum included a debt due by territory, amounting, principal and interest, to 4,632,000*l*. There was also the balance of the bond debt to be provided for, 3,796,000*l*.; and unless this were also chargeable to territory, it would constitute a proportionate deduction from the Company's property. There still remained, however, about twelve millions in the public funds, in cash, goods, and buildings, which were legitimately appropriable to the security of the dividends, as far as they extended. If the claims upon the territorial

[1]

Cash at home and abroad, and property in the public funds	2,186,000
Goods and merchandise at home and abroad	7,384,000
Property afloat and freight	3,532,000
Debts due to the Company, at home and abroad	2,227,000
Buildings and Dead Stock	1,468,000
East India Annuities	1,208,000
Due from Territory	4,632,000
	£22,637,000
Deduct debts	1,534,000
	£21,103,000
Deduct as questionable—	
Due by territory	4,632,000
Bond debts	3,796,000
	£8,428,000
Nett Assets	£12,675,000

On the other hand, the Court claimed a further sum of five millions for the value of the property in India, estimated by the Indian Minister, in 1793, at £250,000 per annum; which, at twenty years' purchase, was equivalent to five millions, the Company's right to which property had been distinctly recognised and reserved in the several Acts by which the term of the Company's privileges had been renewed. Letter of the Court, 27th February, 1833. Of the indisputable balance of the nett assets—£12,675,000; above £11,000,000 were realised and applied between 1834-5, and 1839-40, to the general expenses of the Indian territory.—Parliamentary Accounts. 1842.

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revenues were admitted, the principal, as stated by the Court, was amply sufficient for that object. And this was acknowledged by the Minister; but it was objected, that the property claimed by the Company was exposed to many doubts and questions, both as to the total amount and the nature of its component parts; and was further supposed to be subject to heavy liabilities. In fact, it was matter of great uncertainty, whether the whole of the Company's commercial property was not legally responsible for those debts and engagements which had been contracted in the Company's name for political and territorial purposes; and whether it would not continue so responsible even although the Company should be wholly deprived of their political powers and functions. One thing, at least, was indisputable, that these doubts and uncertainties could not be disposed of without a very minute and protracted investigation; before the close of which, the Company's Charter would expire, and the India stockholders would be left without any available means of realising their dividends. Whatever, therefore, might be the remote issue of the inquiry, whether pursued by a parliamentary commission or by the courts of law, the institution of the process must be most injurious to the interests of the Company; and it was, therefore, their obvious policy to accede at once to a compromise which waived all discussion, and which in requital of a concession of questionable rights, secured them in all the influence and consideration derivable from their instrumentality in the government of India, and in the receipt of the usual interest

upon their capital. The object of the Ministers was evidently the intimidation of the Company into an acquiescence with their scheme, and the contest was too unequal to admit of any doubt of the result[1].

Whilst positively affirming, from the language of the several Acts conferring upon the Company their commercial privileges, that the Territory had no right to any part of the Commercial Assets, and denying that the latter were subject to any liabilities on account of the Indian Debt, the Court of Directors disclaimed any purpose of pursuing their claims with unqualified rigour, or withholding their assent to a settlement upon the principle of a fair and liberal compromise. They were, in short, prepared to agree to the mutual transfer of property and claims between Commerce and Territory, if the interests of the Proprietors were more effectually protected, and the security of

[1] Various other arguments were adduced to reconcile the Proprietors of India Stock to the measure. It is unnecessary to repeat them; but the following is of very suspicious seriousness and sincerity. "While the Government deeply feel the obligation of providing for every fair and just claim that can be preferred on behalf of the Proprietors, it is from other and higher considerations that they are led to attach peculiar value to that part of their plan which places the Proprietors on Indian Security. The plan allots to the proprietary body important powers and functions in the administration of India; and, in order to ensure their properly exercising such powers and functions, His Majesty's Ministers deem it essential that they shall be linked and bound, in point of interest, to the country which they are to assist in governing. The measure, therefore, of connecting them immediately with the territory of India is evidently not an incidental or immaterial, but a vital condition of the arrangement; and in proportion as this condition is dispensed with, the advantages of the arrangement are sacrificed. If the Proprietors are to look to England rather than to India for the security of their dividend, their interest in the good government of India, and consequently their fitness as one of the principal organs of Indian government, will in the same degree be impaired."—Letter from the Right Hon. C. Grant, 12th Feb. 1833. Papers respecting the Charter, p. 50.

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the dividend was better defended from any possible interference of the Board, or from the chances of embarrassment in the finances of India, by which its punctual discharge might be disturbed. The method in which this object might be accomplished was the provision of some collateral security for the regular payment of the dividend, and ultimately, if necessary, of the principal, in the shape of an effective sinking fund, based upon the investment in the national stocks of some portion of the commercial assets. To this proposal a reluctant assent was given by the ministers; and they expressed their willingness to permit £1,300,000 to be taken from the Company's commercial assets, which should be invested in the national stocks, and, with accumulated interest, should form a fund, as a guarantee or collateral security for the capital stock of the Company, and be applicable to its future redemption. The principal was to be suffered to accumulate until it either reached the amount of twelve millions, when accumulation should cease, and the interest be employed as the Board and the Court might think most expedient for the benefit of India, or, whatever the amount might be, at the period fixed by Parliament for the redemption of the annuity, it should be applied in or towards that redemption. To this proposal the court hesitated to accede, as they considered the amount of the guarantee fund should not be less than two millions, and that the interest accruing on it should be available as a temporary appropriation for any interruption in the payment of the dividends from territorial difficulties in India. The Court also required that the

government of India should be continued to the Company until the annuity should be redeemed. To these conditions, His Majesty's Ministers declined to accede. They expressed themselves willing to assign a term of forty years, within which the annuity should not be liable to a compulsory discharge; but they left it to Parliament to fix the term of the exercise of the administration of the government of India, as that rested entirely on political not commercial considerations.

Another question, on which the Court and the President of the Board of Control entertained irreconcileable sentiments, regarded the independence of action to be retained by the former. The weight and influence which the Company had enjoyed in England had been mainly derived, it was affirmed, from their commercial character; and the loss of their commerce could not fail to lessen their consideration with the public, and their authority with the Government. There was reason to fear, therefore, that the Company would be reduced to a state of weakness and dependence incompatible with the right performance of their duties, and become merely an instrument for giving effect to the views of the Indian minister, whose sway would be almost absolute, and neither subject to the check of the Company nor the vigilance of Parliament. The Court, therefore, earnestly pressed upon His Majesty's Ministers the expediency of allowing an appeal, in cases of a difference of opinion between the Board and the Court, or, at the least, of providing for giving publicity to such differences by communicating them, when relating to important subjects, to Parliament. In the plan

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submitted to the Court in regard to its relations with the Board, it was proposed to reserve to the latter, the power of confirming or disapproving of all pecuniary grants or allowances made by the Court, how inconsiderable soever the amount; and in the event of the Court's refusing to prepare or send a despatch, as alluded to by the Board, the latter was to be empowered to send the despatch. To both these conditions the Court very reasonably objected, the first depriving them of the power which they had hitherto possessed of rewarding services and conferring pecuniary benefits within the moderate limits already fixed, and the second superseding the authority of the Court over the local governments, and virtually making them subject to the Board and independent of the Court. In reply, the President disclaimed all intention of impairing the authority or reducing the power of the Court; but considered that as the functions of the Board had a special reference to the territorial revenue of India, it must be an essential part of its duty to control all disbursements; and that in order to secure the dignity of the Court, despatches should in future be signed by an officer of the Court appointed for that purpose, who should be bound to obey the orders of the Board in the transmission of any particular despatch, but that the Ministers could not allow an appeal to a third party in case of differences between the Board and the Court. Neither was such a provision necessary, as all such matters might be brought in various ways to the notice of Parliament.

Besides these principal propositions, others were

intimated, which were, with one exception, of comparatively minor importance; such as a possible alteration of the number of Directors, a different arrangement for the appointment of the junior civilians, and the access of Europeans to the Presidencies, without license: but the suggestion most fatal to the independence of the Court was, that the Board should have a veto on the power granted them by the last charter of recalling any of the Governors of the Presidencies, and the Commander-in-Chief. To this a decided objection was expressed by the Court, as incompatible with the declared intention of the ministers that the Court and the Board should, in all material points, retain the same comparative powers as they had hitherto exercised; and as depriving them of a privilege, which it might be more important than ever to possess, when the dividend should become dependent upon the territorial revenue[1]. Upon these and the other subjects under discussion, it was now time to call for the opinions of the general body; and a Court of Proprietors was according summoned to meet on the 25th March, 1833. The correspondence with the Board was communicated to the Court, and was ordered to be printed; and the consideration of the

[1] As observed by Mr. Tucker, if the power of recall, which had been rarely exercised, should be withdrawn, the public functionaries abroad might set at nought the authority of the Court, and hold it in contempt. A Governor might be lavish in public expenditure; might think only of providing for his own dependants or those of the ministry; might be indolent and inactive, or arbitrary and capricious in the exercise of his powers; and notwithstanding these and other defects of character and conduct, he would retain firm possession of his station as long as he should succeed in propitiating the minister of the day, who might be interested in his continuance in office, and even derive influence and advantage from his mal-administration.—Papers, p. 128.

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1833. At the General Court, held on the 15th April, an elaborate and able dissent of Mr. Tucker, a member of the Court of Directors, having been read, a series of Resolutions was moved by Sir John Malcolm to the following effect:—After acknowledging the ability with which the interests of the Company had been advocated by the Court of Directors, it was proposed—1. That the Company should signify their assent to conduct the Government of India, at the sacrifices demanded, provided they were furnished with powers sufficient for the effective discharge of so important a duty; and their pecuniary rights and claims were adjusted upon the principle of fair and liberal compromise: 2. That looking to the present and prospective condition of the revenues of India, and the probable difficulty of remitting money to England, for the liquidation of territorial charges incurred at home, the Company could not consent to give up the whole of their assets, commercial and territorial, to the Crown for the benefit of the territorial Government of India, in exchange for an annuity of 10*l.* per cent. for a term of forty years, redeemable at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.*, unless such a sum were set apart from those assets as should constitute a guarantee fund, which, with accumulated interest for forty years, should be sufficient at the end of that term to redeem the annuity at the rate proposed, such fund to be also available to provide for payment of the dividends, in the event of India failing to remit them—all sums so applied to be replaced by terri-

torial repayments: 3. That the management of the affairs of India should be secured to the Company for a term of at least twenty years; and, that at the expiration of the period, if then discontinued, they should be allowed the option of demanding payment of the principal of the annuity on the terms already proposed: 4. That during the Company's administration of the Government of India, all measures involving direct or contingent expenditure, should originate with the Court of Directors, subject as at present to the control of the Board, under the existing law: 5. That sufficient powers should be reserved to the Company to check, by a system of publicity through Parliament or some other competent authority, any acts of the Board which might appear to the Court of Directors to be inexpedient or unjust: and, 6. That the Court should retain sufficient power over the commercial assets to enable them, with the concurrence of the Proprietors, and confirmation of the Board, to provide for the discharge of all outstanding commercial obligations, and for such of the commercial officers and servants of the Company as might be affected by the proposed arrangements. These resolutions the Court of Directors were to be requested to communicate to His Majesty's Ministers.

The resolutions thus submitted to the General Court, gave rise to a protracted and desultory discussion, which lasted for seven days. The arguments which had been urged by the Court of Directors against the abolition of the privileged trade with China were repeated; but it was admitted that the

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tide of popular opinion set too strongly against its continuance, to be resisted, either by the Ministers or the Company. Some of the members recommended the Company's continuing to carry on the trade in competition with the private merchants; but this suggestion met with little encouragement, as it was obvious that the competition was likely to be attended with ruinous results. The relinquishment of their commercial character was therefore submitted to; but it was less readily agreed to undertake the Government of India at the sacrifice of their whole commercial property. It was acknowledged, that it was of vital importance to the prosperity and preservation of India, that it should be subject to an intermediate governing body, unconnected with party politics or parliamentary divisions, and independent of the changes of ministry in England—one that should look to the government of India as its sole interest and obligation, and should not be liable to be diverted from its one great duty by the manifold objects which, whether of European, or purely British origin—whether of great or trivial magnitude—must ever render Indian interests of secondary weight with a British administration. But it was denied that the Proprietors of India Stock could be reasonably expected in return for occupying this intermediate post, to give up a large and valuable property, which, notwithstanding the insinuated threats of the Ministers to call in question, they maintained to be their own under the repeated sanction of the Acts of the Legislature. They claimed a more than sufficient amount of assets, to provide for the perpetual payment of their dividends,

without taxing the natives of India for their benefit; and they considered any restriction upon the disposal of their property, according to their own notions of expedience and equity, to be a gratuitous interference with private rights, and little better than an act of authoritative spoliation. An immediate investment of a sum sufficient to provide for the annual dividends was, therefore, urged by some of the speakers; by others, of such a sum as should furnish the requisite principal at the end of forty years.[1] Any other arrangement would be incompatible with the legitimate demands of the Company, and with the honour and justice of the nation, and a most unworthy requital of the exertions and sacrifices by which the Company had achieved the conquest of India, and presented so magnificent an accession to the wealth and power of the parent country. An amendment was, therefore, proposed by Mr. Hume, in which, after announcing the acquiescence of the Company in the loss of the trade with China, their willingness to undertake the administration of India, and their being prepared to accede to any fair and liberal compromise, the Court felt obliged to declare that the plan proposed by the Ministers for adjusting the pecuniary claims of the Company was neither satisfactory nor liberal, nor a just equivalent for the immense amount of commercial and territorial assets which they were called upon to surrender; and a hope was therefore expressed, that the Ministers would consent to such

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[1] £18,000,000, was the sum computed for the former object, by Mr. Randle Jackson; £4,500,000 for the latter, by Mr. Weeding. —Debates, India House, 16th April, 1833.

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an arrangement, as should place the dividends and principal of the Company's Stock beyond the risk of those political changes and occurrences in India, which might endanger both. Other amendments were suggested, but they were objected to as closing the door of negociation which was left open by the original resolutions; and the latter were finally submitted to the ballot, and adopted by a large majority[1]. The doubts which the Ministers had intimated of the liability of the commercial assets to demands, by which they might be overwhelmed, evidently operated upon the fears of the proprietors, and influenced them to accede to the terms proposed, with the chance of some slight modification in their favour. They were not wholly disappointed.

The resolutions of the Court of Proprietors having been communicated to the Ministers, the President of the Board announced to the Court, their consent to extend the amount of the Guarantee Fund to two millions, and to allow money to be raised upon its credit for the payment of dividends, should a deficiency of remittance accrue, although they considered such an emergency as little likely to occur; since it was proposed to give to the dividend the legal preference to all other home territorial payments. With respect to the term for which the Company were to administer the government, the Minister consented to suggest

[1] On the 3rd of May, the result of the ballot was in favour of the resolution proposed by Sir J. Malcolm - - - - 477
Against it - - - - - - - - - 52

Majority in favour - - - 425

a limit of twenty years; and in regard to the relations between the powers of the Court and the Board, they abandoned the suggestion of reserving to the latter a veto on the result of Governors and Military Commanders from India. Ministers also agreed that if, at the expiration of twenty years, or at any subsequent period, the Company were to be deprived of the political government, the proprietors should have the option at three years' notice, of being paid off at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity; and that they should then be entitled to apply that capital, or any portion of it to the resumption of their right to trade, if they should see fit to resume it. To the origination of expenditure by the Court of Directors, subject in all cases, except in the details of the Home Establishment, to the control of the Board; and to a provision for the discharge of outstanding obligations and individual claims under the sanction of the Board, no objection was taken; but with respect to the suggested appeal to Parliament or the public on the occasion of differences of opinion between the Court and the Board, Ministers, while professing a readiness to entertain any practicable expedient for the purpose, expressed their disbelief of the necessity of the arrangement, or the possibility of devising an unexceptionable plan for carrying it into operation.

The concessions of His Majesty's ministers still failed to satisfy the Court of Directors upon the two principal subjects of discussion; the amount of the Guarantee Fund, and the means of giving publicity to differences with the Board. To secure the amount of twelve millions, requisite for the

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redemption of the annuity at the end of forty years, it would be necessary to set apart at least three millions from the Commercial assets, or to prolong the period at which the annuity should be redeemable, an arrangement less satisfactory to the Proprietors. With respect to the publicity they desired, they explained, that it was not so much of the nature of an appeal, which might have the effect of inconveniently suspending the orders of the Board, as of a protest which they suggested should be laid before both houses of Parliament against any orders of the Board against which they should have remonstrated in vain. Their objections were unavailing. To the first, the President of the Board replied, that an enlargement of the Fund was superfluous ; for, as the Government was pledged whenever it exercised the option of redeeming the annuity at a fixed rate, which was equivalent to a principal of twelve millions, it made no difference to the Proprietors of India Stock what might be the value of the fund. It was for the Government to provide the necessary addition to raise it to twelve millions, or to let it go on accumulating until it had reached that amount. The reference to Parliament in the result of a collision between the Court and the Board required no formal enactment, as the Court could always exercise the privilege which they enjoyed in common with all other subjects of the realm, of approaching Parliament by petition; and Ministers refused to accede to a measure of which they could not admit the necessity, and which, whatever the precise shape that it might

assume, could not fail to operate, in their apprehension, very prejudicially to the purposes of good government. This communication, Mr. Grant intimated, was to be considered as final[1].

Upon taking the conclusive reply of His Majesty's Ministers into consideration, the Court of Directors, although still retaining their opinion, that the arrangement recommended by them would have been most consistent with the just expectations of the Proprietors, yet, as the principle had been admitted to the extent that, if paid off before the period at which the Guarantee Fund should have become twelve millions, the Company would have the same advantages as if the fund provided had been larger: or if not paid off before that period, they would have the same advantage as if the term of redemption were extended; they determined to recommend to the Proprietors to acquiesce in the limitation of the fund to two millions. With respect to the question of publicity, they also adhered to the opinion of its utility; but, if the Proprietors concurred in the recommendation regarding the guarantee fund, it would be unnecessary to adopt any further proceedings until the Proprietors should have before them the Bill which was to be submitted to Parliament. To this resolution, the Chairman, Mr. Marjoribanks, and the Deputy-Chairman, Mr. Wigram, recorded their dissent, upon the grounds, that the sum of two millions, instead of three, set apart for a guarantee fund, was insufficient; and that some legislative provision for giving publicity, in certain cases of difference between the Board of

[1] Letter from Mr. Charles Grant, 4th June, 1833.

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Commissioners and the Court of Directors, was indispensable for maintaining the independence of the Court, and consequently the good government of India. Agreeably to the decision of the majority of the Court, their recommendation was submitted to a General Court of Proprietors on the 10th of June, and after some discussion received their concurrence. In the mean time, the question of the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter had been introduced to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament.

Before noticing the proceedings of the Legislature relative to the renewal of the Company's Charter, we may here advert to some transactions which took place about this period, and which were especially alluded to in the Dissent of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, as illustrative of the necessity of introducing some provision for giving publicity to cases of differences between the Court of Directors and the Board. Unless, it was observed, it were known that the two co-ordinate authorities acted under a positive responsibility to Parliament; the paramount authority might enforce their views and opinions, however contrary to good government or wholesome rule, without the possibility of the Legislature becoming acquainted with the facts, by the Minister's refusing the production of documents requisite for a proper understanding of the case. The truth of this assertion was clearly substantiated by what had actually taken place with reference to different pecuniary claims on the revenues of India, which had been steadily resisted by the Court, but which had been upheld, and in

some instances enforced, by the Board. The papers, explanatory of these occurrences had been printed at the instance of the Proprietors.

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Of one of the cases of difference between the Court and the Board, that of the pecuniary claims of Messrs. Palmer and Co., we have already had occasion to give an account. Another instance of this description, concerned claims put forward on behalf of Manohur Das and Sital Baboo, Native bankers, having establishments in various cities of India, upon the king of Oude, for debts contracted by Asof-ad-Dowla, as far back as 1796. The claims had been repeatedly under the consideration of the Court, who had invariably declined to countenance or support them, in which determination they had hitherto received the concurrence of the Board. A different view had, however, been taken up by the President of the Board. In 1832, Mr. C. Grant, and the Court had been desired to adopt the draft of a despatch framed by the Board; in which, after recapitulating the particulars of the transaction, the Government of Bengal was instructed to use its utmost efforts in strongly urging upon the king of Oude the importance of an immediate and effectual adjustment —or, in other words, the payment of Asof-ad-Dowla's debts. The justice of this decided interposition was based upon the part taken by the Governments of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, in assisting the Nawab to ascertain the extent of his debts, and to put them in a train of liquidation. The Resident was authorised to contribute to the investigation, and the Governor-General had assented to express his sentiments on the adjustment of

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them, provided it was understood that the Company should not be implicated in any responsibility by reason of such interference. Statements furnished by the creditors, and counter-statements by the ministers of the Nawab Vizir, were accordingly made out and transmitted to the Government: but, in the meantime, the Vizir undertook for himself the settlement of the demands against him. In effecting this, he granted more favourable terms to his European than to his native creditors; but the latter, nevertheless, acceded to the conditions he offered, with the exception of the Calcutta Bankers. They demanded the same terms that had been granted to the Europeans; and their claims had consequently remained unadjusted at the time of Asof-ad-Dowla's death. The obligation of discharging the public debts of his predecessor was urged upon Sadat Ali, by Lord Wellesley's Government, but the Nawab had evaded or declined compliance. The Marquis of Hastings, considering that the demand had been originally admitted to be just; that it had been countenanced by the preceding administration; and that the bankers might reasonably expect, from their character of British subjects, and from the peculiar circumstances of their claim, the good offices of the Government, once more authorised the Resident's interposition to the extent of recommending to the Nawab Vizir an equitable settlement of the demand. The Nawab, in reply, expressed so positive a determination not to entertain the claim, that the Governor-General did not conceive himself warranted in pressing it further without the sanction of the Court. The sanction was unreservedly

withheld, both on the general principle of non-interference in pecuniary transactions between individuals and native princes; and on the peculiar relations which subsisted with the Nawab Vizir[1]. The Government was, therefore, interdicted from any future attempts to effect an adjustment. In this resolution the Court had steadily persevered, and had, on various occasions recorded their determination to permit no authoritative interference in a matter in which the Nawab was entirely independent of control. They denied that the particular claim in question was distinguished by any peculiarity from other claims which had been brought forward, and which the Court had equally refused to support: that it had been recognised as just, or in any way investigated as to its real merits: or that the Government of India, in giving assistance and advice to the Nawab, to extricate himself from his embarrassments, had thereby contracted any responsibility to his creditors, or given any countenance to their claims[2]. To this view of the case they firmly adhered; and on being again desired to forward the despatch, unanimously refused to act upon the orders of the Board, unless compelled by law to do so. The

[1] In the letter which was addressed to the Government, and which had the concurrence of Mr. Canning, as President of the Board, it was observed. "We are so much aware of the difficulty of divesting a friendly communication to a weaker power of the character of authority, and are so apprehensive that the consequence of pressing upon the Vizir the consideration of those claims might bring upon him others from various quarters; that we direct you to rest contented with the attempt you have already made, and to abstain from any similar proceedings hereafter, at the instance either of these, or any other claimants."—Letter of Court, 12th February, 1819.—Papers, Pecuniary Claims, p. 3.

[2] Letter from the Court to the Board, 12th March, 1833. Papers on Pecuniary Claims.

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President of the Board of Control was, therefore, driven to his favourite resource of compelling the Company, by a writ of mandamus, to lend themselves to the enforcement of claims, the justice of which they questioned, and the payment of which they had no right whatever to extort from the king of Oude. The writ was applied for, and the rule granted; but at the last moment the application was abandoned, and the consideration of the subject was indefinitely postponed[1].

Whatever expectations might be entertained of any benefit being derived from a reference to Parliament in the case of a difference between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, the latter had no great reason, from experience of the past, to expect that the legislature would ever take part with the Company in opposition to ministerial influence. On the contrary, Parliament had recently shown itself equally disposed as the Board to promote private ends at the expense of public justice, and to give the weight of its authority to demands of obsolete date, equivocal origin, and unauthenticated amount, in subservience to the interests of individuals, and in disregard of the well-founded objections of the Court. Thus, a bill was brought into Parliament early in 1831, to provide for the discharge of a claim in respect of money advanced by the late James Hodges, Esq., on security of the lands of the late Zemindar of Nozid and Mustaphanagar, in the East Indies, now under the sovereignty of the East India Company. The progress

[1] Papers on Pecuniary Claims, printed by order of the House of Commons, May, 1834.

of the bill was suspended by the close of the session; but it was again brought forward and referred to a Select Committee, before whom counsel was heard both in support of and in opposition to the measure. The Committee having recommended that the bill should pass, petitions were presented against it by the Company, but to no purpose. It was approved of by the Commons, and sent up to the House of Lords, where counsel was again heard; and notwithstanding the opposition of Lord Ellenborough and the adverse opinion of the Chancellor, Lord Brougham, it also passed the House, and became law. The Company were, therefore, compelled by the legislature to pay, at the expense of the people of India, a considerable sum, the claim for which originated at the distance of more than half a century in transactions of a highly questionable description.

In 1775, at a time when the civil Government of Madras was deeply tainted with corruption of every kind, Mr. Hodges, a member of the Council of Masulipatam, took upon himself certain debts, said to be due to other members of the Council by Narsing Apparao Zemindar of Nozid, and he also lent money to the Zemindar, the whole amounting with interest to 57,661 Madras Pagodas: the entire proceeding being a violation of the known sentiments of the Court, and being carried on without the sanction or cognizance of the Government. The contraction of the loan was not communicated to the latter, until 1779, when in consequence of the irretrievable embarrassments in which Apparao, through his own improvidence and

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the help of his European creditors was involved, he was unable to discharge his obligations to the State, and the Council of Masulipatam, of which Mr. Hodges continued to be a member, proposed that the Zemindari should be taken possession of by the Company, the revenues being appropriated in the first instance to the payment of the yearly tribute, and of a fourth of the arrears annually, until the whole was discharged; secondly, to the maintenance of the Zemindar; and lastly, the surplus, if any, should be assigned to the creditors. No specification was made who the creditors were, nor of the assignment to them of certain villages, the revenues of which they had for some time past enjoyed. This assignment was continued until 1784, when Lord Macartney, although expressing his opinion that the transaction was unwarranted in its principle, and pernicious in its tendency, yet as it had been recognised by a preceding administration, consented, upon their giving up the mortgaged villages and rendering satisfactory accounts, to recommend the case of the creditors to the Company, and to establish such provision for them as could be with propriety set apart from the Company's superior demands. The districts were taken possession of accordingly; and it was declared that no provision should be made for any of the creditors until the public claims were fully satisfied[1]. This result was never realised. In 1803, a balance of nearly five lakhs of pagodas remained due to the Government from the Nozid Zemindari; and the permanent settlement of the

[1] The orders of the Government to this effect were communicated to Mr. Hodges, as creditor, by himself as chief of Masulipatam.

northern Circars being then introduced, the claim on account of arrears of revenue was remitted, and the estate suffered to start unencumbered with a reduced rate of annual payment, for which it was expected the occupant would be able easily to provide, as well as for the discharge of his private obligation — the recognition of the Government amounting to no more than the validity of the claim as against the Zemindar, not against the Company. The Court had therefore resisted various applications for the payment of the money made anterior to the settlement of the Estate, and its restoration to the owner. Subsequently to that date, nothing had been heard of the claim until it was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. J. Wood, on behalf of a Captain Murray, the grandson of Mr. Hodges, by his daughter, a gentleman fortunate in having influential Parliamentary friends. Unless some such agency was at work, nothing, as was observed by Lord Brougham, could be found to sanction the extraordinary interference of the Legislature, to pass an act in favour of a claim contaminated in its origin, and illegal in its prosecution. Nor did it less deserve the condemnation of the Committee of Correspondence, who designated the Bill as a most unwarrantable attempt to make the revenues of India answerable for a private debt, and to confer an undue benefit on parties who had no other claims to consideration, than that of having by irregular means obtained a recognition by Government of dealings of such a character as to call not for approval and encouragement, but the severest

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reprehension. It was not, however, so much to the parties who found the Legislature so compliant that censure was applicable, as to the Legislature, which had lent itself to the promotion of private interests; and the whole transaction deserves notice, as inspiring a salutary distrust of the mode in which parliamentary influence might be misused to the disadvantage of India, if the British Legislature should ever be intrusted with the direct and uncontrolled administration of the Government of that country.

The approving spirit with which the claims of individuals against the Government of India were listened to in Parliament, encouraged other applications of a similar purport; and in the course of 1832, a select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the merits of a petition presented by a Mr. Henry Hutchinson, complaining that the East India Company had interfered to prevent payment of a debt due to the estate of his uncle, the late Mr. J. Hutchinson, by the Raja of Travancore. The Committee reported favourably of the claim. The close of the Session prevented a Bill from being sent to the House of Lords; but the application was revived in the Session following; and in February, 1833, leave was given to introduce a Bill to provide for the favourable adjustment of the demand. Mr. Hutchinson was in the Civil Service of the Company, Commercial Resident at Anjengo, the only medium of communication with the Raja of Travancore, and in an especial manner charged with the duty of purchasing from the Raja investments of pepper and cloth, on account of the Company. He availed himself

of his position to carry on private commercial dealings with the Raja—to lend him money at high interest, and to sell and buy various articles, including pepper, which it was his business to provide for the Company's investments. In consequence of those dealings, between 1792 and 1800, a balance was made to appear against the Raja, of Surat Rupees 4.89.735.; and of which, after Mr. Hutchinson's decease in 1799, rather more than half was realised by his representatives. These transactions were not brought to the notice of the Supreme Government until 1804, when the orders of Lord Wellesley restricted all intercourse with the Raja to the Political Resident, and it was, therefore, necessary to apply for his mediation to effect a settlement of the debt said to be still due. Upon the Resident's bringing the claim to the knowledge of the Governor-General, he was desired to apprise Mr. Hutchinson's agents, that no interference on their behalf would be allowed, until the Government should be satisfied that their claim was founded in justice, and of such a nature as should require a deviation from the general principles of policy which regulated the conduct of the Government towards states in alliance with it. Upon instituting an inquiry to this effect, the Raja's Dewan disputed the justice of the demand, and declared the debt to have originated chiefly in fictitious transactions: and as the statements of the parties were found irreconcileable, it was determined, by Lord Wellesley in 1807, to refrain from any interference, and leave them to settle the claim between themselves. In consequence, however, of the application

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made to the Court by Mr. Hutchinson's representatives in England, the Governments of Madras and Bombay were desired to furnish further information with respect to the demand; until the receipt of which, the Resident was instructed to recommend to the Raja, to decline further payment on account of it until its justice should be made out to the satisfaction of the Government of Madras. The information required was not received until 1823; when the Court decided, that the demand, even granting it to be in other respects unquestionable, was not of a character to receive their countenance, or to be insisted on through their agency. They expressed their purpose, therefore, to leave the parties entirely to themselves, and withdrew their recommendation to the Raja to suspend his payments. It was chiefly on their previous suggestion to that effect, that Mr. Hutchinson's representatives grounded their complaint, affirming that the settlement of the demand had been prevented by the Company's interposition at a time when the Raja was disposed to discharge it. This allegation was denied by the Court, as the demand had four or five years before been denounced as fictitious by the Minister of the Raja; and it could not be supposed that he would have agreed to liquidate a claim, the justice of which he so unqualifiedly denied. Although it also appeared, that the fact of Mr. Hutchinson's dealings with the Raja was known informally to the Government of Bombay, and as far as they bore a commercial character, were not interdicted, yet his proceedings in the purchase of pepper had been obviously detrimental to the

public interests, and his pecuniary transactions with the Raja were a breach of the regulations which in 1777 prohibited all Company's servants from loans of money to natives, under pain of suspension from the service. The claim was, therefore, one which had no title to the support, either of the Court or Legislature[1]. The clever advocacy of Mr. Macaulay, one of the secretaries of the Board on this occasion, satisfied the house of the exceptionable origin of the claims, and notwithstanding the contrary recommendation of the preceding Session, the Bill was rejected.

The Parliament assembled in January, 1833, but the discussion of subjects of local interest prevented the Ministers from bringing forward their proposed arrangements for the renewal of the Company's Charter, until the Session was so far advanced that little opportunity remained for that careful and deliberate consideration which its importance demanded. Had, however, the time permitted of due investigation, little inclination was manifested by either house to devote much attention to the inquiry. The attendance was invariably scanty, and but few members of any note took part in the discussions. The subject was evidently distasteful to the majority of the house, and the future welfare of the vast empire of India was of much less magnitude in their estimation than an affray between the mob and the police, or the representation of the most insignificant borough from which reform had not yet wrested the elective franchise. On the

[1] Report of Committee of Correspondence, 11 April, 1832.—Papers. Pecuniary Claims, 32.

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13th of June, the question was introduced by Mr. Grant, to a Committee of the whole house, whose indulgence he felt it necessary to solicit, as the subject was one which could not be expected to excite that strong interest which belonged to some other topics recently discussed, as it wanted the stimulus of party or political feeling, and the details it would be necessary to offer might be found tedious and uninteresting. Such was the language which it was thought advisable by a minister of the Crown to employ in order to conciliate the attention of the members of a British House of Commons to one of the most grave and momentous questions that could be submitted to their decision, and involved considerations of vital importance to the future prosperity of both India and Great Britain.

The first question to be decided, respected the agency, by which the political Government of India was to be conducted; and in looking back through the last forty years, it was undeniable that, notwithstanding the existence of many evils and imperfections in the system, a great improvement had been effected in the condition of the people: the Government was such as they required—it was one which gave them ample security as to person and property—protected them against the perils of violence and rapacity, and ensured them tranquillity and repose. These reasons were sufficient to justify the continuance of the political Government of India in the hands of the Company for a time longer; but the measure was further recommended by the advantage which the interposition of the Company secured for India, in protecting it from the fluctua-

tions of party and political feeling which prevailed in England, and which could not fail to oppose an insuperable obstacle to the tranquil advancement of the natives of India, in order and prosperity. The efficiency of the Company's Government had been impaired by their commercial character, and the incongruous combination of the objects of sovereign and merchant. This would no longer be the case, as it was proposed that their connexion with all commerce should cease — and this would also have the advantage of rendering the Company more vigilant in checking the territorial expenditure of the Indian Presidencies, as they had hitherto been accustomed to rely on their commercial profits for the payment of territorial deficiencies. Another drawback from the efficiency of the Company's administration, was the frequent interference from home. It was essential to the well-being of India, that ample confidence should be placed in those to whom the Government was delegated; and that, as far as possible, the interposition of the home authorities should be confined to cases of a strong and extraordinary nature, or rather to cases of a general description. All that depended on the administration of the Government in India ought to be left to the administration there. With regard to the exclusive trade of the Company with China, the course of events, the progress of commercial enterprise, and the universal voice of the nation had decided the question; and it must be considered to have arrived at its natural termination. There were also considerations of a public and political tendency, which rendered it indispensable to place

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the intercourse with China upon a different footing, and to substitute for the officers of the Company, whose sovereignty over India, and whose conquests in Ava and Nepal could not fail to have alarmed the sensitive jealousy of the Chinese Government, the presence of a public functionary directly representing a remote kingdom, whose objects could be none other than the reciprocal advantages of commerce. For these, and other reasons which Mr. Grant enumerated in some detail, he considered that no hesitation could be admitted, with respect to the admission of the private merchants to an unrestricted trade with China, as soon as the Company's privileges should expire, subject to such arrangements as the political and financial interests of the country might render it advisable to impose. The plan which he should propose was, therefore, shortly this, that the East India Company should surrender all their rights, and privileges, and property—that the Government of India should be continued to them for the period of twenty years, but that they should cease to carry on trade of any description. That, in consideration of the concessions made by them, the Company should be entitled to an annuity, equivalent to the actual dividends, or 630,000*l.* per annum, to be paid by the territorial revenue of India. A guarantee fund of 12,000,000*l.* should be gradually formed for securing the payment of the annuity, as well as for finally paying off the capital stock of the Company. The annuity was to be payable for a term of forty years; when it should be at the option of Parliament, on giving three years' notice, to redeem it at the rate

of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. The Company also might, at the end of the twenty years, if deprived of the government, demand payment of their capital at the same rate. No injury would, therefore, be sustained by the Proprietors of India Stock; nor would any burthen be inflicted upon the resources of India to which they were not fully equal. The arrangement was of the nature of a compromise which equally consulted the interests of the Company and the public. The Company had already expressed their willingness to accede to it; and he trusted that the Parliament would entertain a similar view of the principle of the arrangement as that which was most beneficial to the interests of the country.

In carrying into operation the general plan, some changes were proposed in the constitution of the Indian Governments. A fourth Presidency had been rendered advisable by the great extent of the jurisdiction of the Government of Bengal, which at present comprehended the North Western provinces, the separation of which was essential for their effective administration. They were, therefore, to be placed under a separate Government. It was also thought advisable that the Governor-General should be relieved from the functions of a single and separate Government; and should be invested with a more decided control over the subordinate Presidencies than he actually possessed, especially in regard to matters of expenditure. Whether the Governor-General should retain the immediate charge of one of the Presidencies, and whether the Councils of the subordinate Presi-

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dencies should be reduced or abolished, were questions for further deliberation. The state of the law in India required amelioration. At present the laws were so various and so vague, that in many cases it was impossible to know what the law was. The nature of the authority from which the laws originated, was ill-defined and questionable; and the powers of the different courts of Judicature were, in many respects, indefinite and contradictory, leading to embarrassing and mischievous collision. These questions were of peculiar importance with regard to the probable increase of European residents on the removal of the restrictions which had hitherto prevented their settling in India, and which it was proposed to abolish—as advantages of the highest moment to India and to Great Britain might be anticipated from the free admission to the former of British enterprise and capital: the only obstacle that impeded their unrestricted settlement, was the present state of the law; and until British Settlers were made amenable to the Courts of that part of the country where they should reside, it would not be advisable to give them free access to the provinces. This difficulty might be obviated by arming the Government with power to enact such regulations for the conduct of both natives and Europeans as would have the effect of approximating the two people, and the laws of the two countries, and pave the way for ultimate assimilation. For this purpose, Mr. Grant proposed to strengthen the Supreme Council by the addition of two more members than it was actually composed of, and of one or two other persons,

barristers of high standing, or retired judges, who would apply their professional knowledge to effecting the requisite alterations in the local law, and also to authorise the Governor-General to appoint a Commission, to consist of persons experienced in the administration of Indian justice, with the assistance of one or two persons from this country, to inquire how far it might be practicable to establish a uniform system of law and judicature in India. Natives were likewise to be relieved from all disabilities to hold office or employment on account of their birth or religion. Slavery in India was very different from that in the West Indies; and was so closely connected with the domestic habits and religious feelings of the natives, that it required cautious treatment. Finally, Mr. Grant proposed to call the attention of the House to the alterations in the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India, which, without materially adding to the charge, should give Suffragan Bishops to Madras and Bombay, and relieve the Bishop of Calcutta of the laborious superintendance which now devolved upon him. In conclusion, he moved the adoption of three resolutions, which declared it expedient. 1. To open the trade with China to all British subjects. 2. To require from the Company the transfer to the Crown on behalf of the Indian territory, of all assets and claims of every description, in consideration of such equivalent payment as the Parliament should enact; and the acknowledgment by the Crown on behalf of the territory of all the obligations of the Company; and 3. The continuance of the Government

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1833. As it was intimated by the Minister that the adoption of these resolutions would not pledge members to any specific course, no objections were taken to them in the discussion that ensued. Mr. Wynn, late President of the Board, recommended a material alteration in the constitution of the Court of Directors; the reduction of the number to six or eight, who were to be nominated by the Crown, from persons who had served at least twelve years in India. No difficulty, he conceived, would arise from that arrangement as to the distribution of the patronage, as while a portion might be exercised as at present by the Crown and the Directors, some appointments might be given to the Universities, and the rest might be placed at the disposal of the chief civil and military authorities in India. He expressed a general concurrence with the principle of the resolutions. Mr. Buckingham objected to the assignment of the political administration of India to a Joint Stock Company consisting of a fluctuating body of individuals, of whom the largest portion were women and children, and of the rest of whom few were likely to feel any other interest in India than the realization of their dividends. He denied the correctness of the assertion of the President of the Board of Control, that India had prospered under the system of administration pursued by the Company, as, even according to an admission recently made by a member of the Board, the people of India were the most oppressed and

heavily taxed race under the sun. Symptoms of rapid decay were every where visible; the population, the commerce, and the revenue, had declined; and nothing had gone on increasing but embarrassment and debt. It would be much more for the benefit of India that the Government should take the management of the territory, with all its incumbrances, and leave the Company to dispose of their commercial assets as they should think proper. The only prospect of advantage that could be expected to result from the plan proposed by the Board arose from the unrestricted admission of Europeans, by whose settling in the country the resources of India would be developed, and a revenue of a hundred millions a-year might come to be levied with a lighter pressure on the people than was now laid upon them by a fifth of the amount. The Resolutions were agreed to.

On the 5th of July, the Resolutions adopted by the House of Commons were introduced by the Marquis of Lansdowne to the House of Lords. Like his colleague in the Lower House, he was under the necessity of deprecating the habitual inattention of his hearers to a subject which had seldom found in them a willing audience—the Government of India. The magnitude of the question now at stake might, he trusted, induce them to forego their usual indifference, and to bear patiently with those who sought their decision with regard to the disposal of a country which far exceeded the colonial possessions of any other state in extent, population, and importance. His Lordship then

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went over the grounds on which the Ministers had determined to propose the entire discontinuance of the commerce of the East India Company, and the consignment to them of the government of India, and which were substantially the same as those detailed by the President of the Board of Control; the anticipated extension of the trade with China by the energies of private enterprise, and the practical benefits which had resulted to India from the Company's administration. The mode in which the arrangements were to be carried into effect were then similarly described; and the Noble Marquis maintained the adequacy of the resources of India to provide for all the territorial disbursements that might be required in England; and the probable existence of a surplus after their discharge: a result attributable, in a great measure, to the vigour and judgment with which Lord W. Bentinck had reduced the expenses of the Indian Governments. The admission of the natives to a larger share than they had hitherto enjoyed in the administration of their local affairs; the assimilation of the various systems of law which existed in India; the formation of a fourth Presidency; and augmented power of the Governor-General; the extension of the Ecclesiastical Establishments; and the unrestricted access of Europeans to the old settlements, and with licenses to the new; from which his Lordship anticipated the highest advantages to the civilisation of the population of India—were likewise adverted to in support of the Resolutions which were laid before the House.

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Lord Ellenborough stated, that he had always regarded the question of the China Trade as one of finance; and had been anxious to reduce the territorial expenditure of India so as to make the revenues independent of commercial assistance. As soon as this was effected, there could be no objection to the freedom of commerce with China being placed at the disposal of Parliament; although he was far from expecting from the measure the great advantages which some persons so sanguinely anticipated. On the contrary, much mischief would infallibly ensue if private merchants embarked rashly and precipitately in the trade. He did not question the adequacy of the revenues of India to provide in due time for all territorial disbursements; but he considered that the views of Lord Lansdowne were at variance with the statements laid before the Committees and the Board; and that the reduction of the expenditure very much depended upon the adoption of measures which he (Lord Ellenborough) had recommended when at the head of the Board of Commissioners. The additional charges involved by the plan of the Government; the difference between the produce of the commercial assets and the greater amount of the dividend; the compensation to be granted to Commercial Servants; the cost of the proposed Law and Slavery Commissions; the salaries of the three new Members of Council, and two new Bishops; and the travelling expenses of a migratory Governor-General, were likely to amount to a considerable sum, and, with other deductions, might be expected to leave a deficiency instead

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of a surplus of receipts[1]. His Lordship anticipated an unfavourable change in the future composition of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors, and the exclusive formation of both by persons connected with India. He did not think that this was desirable, as the consequence would be the predominance of feelings imbibed in India, which were not those best fitted to promote the happiness of the people of both countries. By the present system, the Court of Directors consisted partly of persons connected with India and partly of eminent English merchants and influential members of society, securing an amalgamation of British and Indian sentiments, and the diffusion of the patronage over a wider and more comprehensive surface. The proposed changes at home were, however, less exceptionable than those abroad; and the purpose of abolishing the local councils at the subordinate Presidencies threatened to deprive their Governors of assistance absolutely essential for the discharge of their duties, and the people of the strongest guarantee that they possessed for their security and

[1] The additional charges were estimated by Lord Ellenborough at 571,000*l.* per annum.

Difference between Dividends . .	£630,000
And amount of interest on Remittable Loans	467,000
Excess of charge	163,000
Compensation	206,000
Law Commissioners	30,000
Slavery ditto	30,000
Travelling Charges	30,000
Three New Members of Council . .	30,000
Government of Agra	22,000
Two Bishops	10,000
Travelling Expenses, Governor-General .	50,000
	£571,000

protection. He objected also to any diminution of the powers of the subordinate Governments as no respectable persons would hold them under such restrictions. The increased numbers of the Supreme Council, which it appeared was to consist of six members, of whom four were to be officers of the four Presidencies, the fifth a philosopher, and the sixth a soldier, could only be a source of contest, delay, and inefficiency. The new legislative powers to be given to the Council, by which the Supreme Courts were virtually abolished, filled him with astonishment. The Courts were established not only for the benefit of Europeans, but to protect the natives of India against European oppression, and every security which had been given them would thus be swept away. With regard to the permission to be granted to Europeans to settle in India, the fact was, that all persons of capital had practically long had that liberty. No one who could assign a colourable pretext for going to India, had for a long time past been refused a license; but it was a great mistake to suppose that capitalists went out to India. No British capital went there. The capital actually employed was mainly derived from the Civil and Military servants of the Company. The assimilation of the laws he looked upon as impossible, without violating all the prejudices and feelings of the natives, and exciting their abhorrence and disgust. Any interference with the domestic slavery of the people of India would lead most certainly to insurrection and bloodshed in every part of the country. Although equally desirous as any of His

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Majesty's Ministers to raise the moral character of the people of India; and hoping that the time would come when they might fill the highest situations, with benefit to the country, and honour to themselves, yet he was satisfied that any attempt to precipitate such a result, would defeat the object in view; and with respect to Military and Political power, the very existence of the British rule in India depended upon their exclusive exercise. He looked upon the whole plan as crude and ill-digested, and called upon the House to delay their accession to it, until a sufficient time should be allowed for that deliberate consideration, which its importance, and the character of the House as statesmen and benefactors of the people of India, imperatively exacted.

The Earl of Ripon defended the plan of the Ministers, maintaining that it had not been adopted hastily or without extensive inquiry, and the advantage of much experience of the practical results of the renewal of the last Charter. The Duke of Wellington felt it incumbent upon him to offer his opinion on a measure which proposed so materially to change the constitution of a Government, which, from the personal opportunities he had enjoyed of witnessing its operations, he believed to be the best, the most purely administered Government that ever existed—a Government that provided best for the happiness of the people committed to its charge. It was deceiving the people of England to affirm that a trading Company, which, after nearly a century of constant wars had acquired the sovereignty over a vast population, and a territory yield-

ing a revenue of twenty millions, with a debt not exceeding forty, was unfit for the functions of Government, or unfit for the management of commerce. The present plan paid no regard to former stipulations, and completely changed the position of the Company—it had no longer the same power in relation to His Majesty's Government which it had hitherto retained, nor in relation to its old servants: it was no longer in the same independent, respectable, and influential situation in which it had existed for so long a period. One of the worst parts of the plan was, that the Company would have to draw their dividends from India—a necessity which would increase the amount of the annual remittances to an extent that could not fail to be embarrassing to the commerce. It was proposed to alter the constitution of the Local Governments, and to give to the Governor-General the power of nominating members of Council—a nomination hitherto reserved by the Court to themselves, as one of the means by which they were enabled to exercise a moderate influence over the Governor. When he found that it was designed that their appointment should be entrusted to the Governor-General, the very individual whose proceedings they were intended to control; and, moreover, only to be appointed when such Governor-General thought fit — he could not but feel much alarm for the success of the Indian Government, and was most anxious to impress upon the ministers the immense importance of maintaining the Councils in their actual condition. He also objected to any diminution of the authority of the subordinate administrations, and the proposed in-

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crease of that of the Governor-General. He had seen a great deal of Governor-Generals, and had also had means of judging of the nature and extent of the powers intrusted to them; and the result of his observations was a conviction that they were vested with as much power as they could desire to have, or could exercise with satisfaction to themselves or those under them. There was another part of the plan which he would entreat Ministers to re-consider—the separation of the provinces of Bengal from the immediate charge of the Governor-General. The province of Bengal was the source and spring of the power of India, and should never be lost sight of by the Government of that country. The Noble Duke considered that the legislative powers proposed to be given to the Governor-General were too extensive to be intrusted to any one individual, and that the augmented employment of the natives would be frustrated by an increased resort of Europeans; and he concluded by expressing his regret that the advice of the late Sir John Malcolm had not been followed, constituting an independent body in London, representing the interests of India.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, in reply to the objections of Lord Ellenborough and the Duke of Wellington, explained, that it was not intended to withdraw from the home authorities the appointment of members of Council. He denied that the Ministers had ever disputed the fitness of the Company to govern India; and fully admitted that under their sway the condition of the people had been greatly improved; and that they had been

comfortable and happy to an extent which they had not experienced under any other government. After some further remarks in vindication of the opening of the trade with China, and of the admission of Europeans to settle in India, he concluded, by informing the House, that he was authorised to express the entire concurrence of the Marquis Wellesley, who was prevented by indisposition from attending his place, in the Resolutions. They were then agreed to.

A Bill having been drafted according to the tenor of the Resolutions was brought into the House of Commons. No proceedings took place on the first reading; but on the motion for a second reading on the 10th of July, it was again opposed by Mr. Buckingham, on the grounds argued in his former objections to the Resolutions—the unfitness of the Company to be intrusted with the Government of India, as shewn by the history of their past mismanagement, both of their commerce and their territory, relying for his proof of both, almost wholly upon the erroneous or exaggerated statements of Mr. Rickards. He concluded a long address, by proposing, as an amendment, that, with reference to the importance of the subject, and the advanced period of the Session, the consideration of the Bill should be postponed till the Session ensuing. The postponement of the discussion was not agreed to, and the Bill was read a second time, after an eloquent defence by Mr. Macaulay, of the principles upon which it was founded. No other alteration or modification was proposed by the members who took part in the discussion.

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On the 12th of July the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee, for the purpose of considering the Clauses of the Bill in detail. To the greater number, no objections were started; and they passed with some unimportant verbal alterations. A few gave rise to discussion in the successive sittings of the Committee.

On proposing to fill up the blank in the first clause with the words "one thousand eight hundred fifty-four"—renewing the Charter till that period—an amendment was moved by Mr. Hume, to contract the period within narrower limits, and reduce it to ten; but it was reasonably objected, that the term constituted too short an interval for the Company to administer the government of India, with a view to the stability of their measures or the development of the resources of the country. Even in granting a Turnpike Bill, it was usual to fix its continuance for twenty-one years, in order to afford a feeling of security; and it would be very inconsistent to accord a shorter term for an object of such magnitude. The amendment was negatived.

On the Clause which enacted that the Presidency of Fort William should be divided into two, it was suggested by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, that the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay should be allowed to remain on their actual footing; and that there should be established at Agra a Government subordinate in rank, but suited to the circumstances of the North Western Provinces. If the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were to be reduced in the manner proposed, no man of efficient talents or high character would be found to accept them; and

the whole of India would fall under the dominion of one Governor, unassisted and uncontrolled—a state of things fraught with infinite mischief. In reply, Mr. Robert Grant maintained the expediency of rendering all the Presidencies subordinate to one Supreme Government, of which it would be inconvenient to change the seat from that which it already occupied at Calcutta. He doubted not that competent persons would be found to accept the subordinate governments, even if reduced in importance; but the Bill was so framed as to empower the Court of Directors to make such changes in the distribution of the territories under the several Presidencies as might from time to time appear advisable; and the question as to appointing Councils to the Subordinate Presidencies was also left open for future consideration, to be settled according to the judgment of the Court of Directors and Board of Control.

The 42nd clause, which intrusted to the Governor-General in council to make laws and regulations for all persons, whether Europeans or natives, and for all Courts of Justice within the territories, subject to the Company, was objected to by Mr. Wynn and Mr. Fergusson, as giving to the Governor-General unprecedented authority, and as departing from the principle by which Englishmen in India were placed under the protection of the Supreme Courts. Mr. Fergusson, therefore, moved an amendment, the object of which was to secure to the British and other residents of the towns of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, all the rights and privileges of British law, as administered within

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those limits by His Majesty's Courts: a division took place, when the amendment was negatived.

The subject of the appointment of Councils at the subordinate Presidencies was again discussed, upon the submission of the 55th clause, which enacted, that the executive government of each of the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and Agra, should be administered by a Governor; that the Governor-General of India should be also the Governor of Fort William, in Bengal; and that it should be left to the discretion of the Court of Directors to continue or appoint Councils at any of the Presidencies. It was objected to by Sir Harry Verney, that the clause enabled the Court to empower any of the Governors to carry on their duties without the aid of a council, and to confer upon them an extent of arbitrary authority, which could not fail to be injurious. Mr. Fergusson supported the objection. The council was an appropriate check upon the acts of a Governor, who was now obliged to state his reasons for adopting any course contrary to their sentiments. Without such a provision, the Government at home, and the Court of Directors, would have no means of judging of the real grounds of his proceedings. Mr. Hume knew of no good reason for making any change. The Presidencies, as now constituted, were too immense to be placed in the hands of any one man. The obligation of recording their opinions, imposed upon the members of the Council, was an excellent means of enlightening the authorities at home, and of conveying to the Governor of all India the sentiments of persons most competent to

form a judgment. Sir Robert Inglis concurred in these views, and urged the vast importance of a Council to the Governors of the Presidencies, who being sent out from England, in many cases with little previous knowledge of India, must depend upon information received on the spot, and could acquire it from no source more authentic or trustworthy than the concurrent opinions of individuals of the highest respectability, and most mature experience in the service. Mr. Grant replied, that the claim was not intended to make any immediate alteration, but to leave the question to be decided by circumstances. It was proposed to continue the Councils where they existed, but not to appoint one for the new Presidency of Agra. If the experiment succeeded in that instance, the Bill enabled the Court of Directors to extend the arrangement to the other Presidencies. The abolition of a Council would not deprive the Governor of information and assistance, for which he at present was accustomed to look to the secretaries, whose services he would still command. Mr. Ferguson denied that the opinion of the secretaries was equally valuable with that of the Council, as it involved no responsibility — and appealed to the evidence of Mr. Elphinstone in favour of the existing arrangement. He therefore proposed as an amendment, that the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay should be administered by a Governor and Council. Observations to the same purport were urged by different members, but the amendment was negatived by a small majority[1]. Another

[1] The numbers were—ayes, 32; noes, 41. Majority—9.

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amendment was proposed by Sir H. Verney, to the effect that the Governor-General should be the Governor of the whole of Bengal, having under him two Lieutenant-Governors, one for the Upper and one for the Lower Provinces—which was negatived. It was then proposed by Mr. Charles Buller, that the Governor-General of India should be relieved from the charge of any particular Presidency—but this amendment was also rejected.

The consideration of the Bill was resumed on the 17th of July, with the clause which provided that British subjects should not be suffered to reside in the territories acquired since 1800, without a license—to which Mr. Hume moved as an amendment, the removal of all restrictions whatever, other than those of the law: it was negatived. The President of the Board himself proposed the correction of the clause, which enacted that all rights over persons in a state of slavery should be abolished by the 12th April, 1837, as an unwarranted and dangerous interference with the institutes and usages of the natives of India; and suggested, therefore, the substitution of a provision, that the Governor-General in Council should be required forthwith to frame laws and regulations for the extinction of slavery, with a due regard to the laws of marriage, and the rights and authorities of fathers, and heads of families; and to report such laws to the Court of Directors for the purpose of their being laid before Parliament. The amendment was agreed to.

The next clause, proposing to increase the number of Bishops to three, one for each Presidency, gave rise to a more prolonged discussion. Mr.

O'Connell objected to the clause as recognising a state religion in India, by establishing a church for one only of the three great denominations of Christians in the United Kingdom; and Mr. Sinclair also, on the part of the Presbyterian community, claimed a share of any provision to be made by the Government. Mr. Macaulay, although not an advocate for Episcopacy, considered any objection, founded on the expense of the establishment, which was not more than 11,000*l.* a year, and which was rather less than that hitherto incurred, inconsistent with the magnitude of the religious establishments of the Pagans and Mohammedans, drawing from the state, as he averred, several millions. Mr. O'Connell explained that his objection was not to the cost, but to the principle. Mr. Wilks thought it unnecessary to augment the Ecclesiastical establishment for the benefit of the comparatively few persons who were likely to benefit by their ministry, not exceeding, inclusive of the European soldiery, forty thousand persons; and who could not require three Bishops, while for the great object of promoting the progress of Christianity, the services of the Bishops and Chaplains had been found of little avail. The diffusion of Christianity, as far as it had been accomplished, was the work of missionaries, not of the members of the clerical establishment. The clause was defended by Mr. Wynn, who argued that the natives of India had an obvious interest in the maintenance of a Christian establishment, for they would suffer most detriment, if those who were to govern them were destitute of religious instruc-

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tion. It was a necessary consequence that India must bear whatever expences were necessary for its good Government; and the maintenance of the ceremonies of their religion among those who were to administer the Government was necessary for maintaining their morality, and, therefore for the welfare of India. The discussion was adjourned, and was resumed on the 19th, when Mr. O'Connell repeated, with additional earnestness, his objection to the introduction of a dominant church into India, as likely at the same time to introduce all the rancour and hate of religious animosity. He asserted that of the Christians in India, the large majority were Catholics, above half a million of whom would be taxed to pay the salaries of Protestant Bishops. If provisions were made for the Protestant, the same should, in justice, be supplied to the Catholic and Presbyterian. Mr. Grant disclaimed the idea of a dominant church in in India, and professed himself willing to concert with Mr. O'Connell the means of extending to the Catholic community in India, the consideration of the local Government. Mr. Shiel referred to the opinion expressed by the Company, of the injustice of taxing the natives of India for the support of a religious establishment, the expences of which had within a few years very largely increased; and argued, that as the majority of Christians in India were Catholics, all the evils of the Irish Church-establishment would be transferred to India, and with the same results. After some further observations from Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Hume, the discussion was suspended. It was resumed at the evening sitting; and after a

few brief observations by several members, the clause was put to the vote, and passed in the affirmative. An additional Clause was subsequently moved by Colonel Leith Hay, that, of the established Chaplains at each Presidency, two should always be ministers of the Church of Scotland, which was agreed to. Some discussion was elicited by the Clause, proposing, that for every vacancy in the Civil Service, and consequent admission of a student to the East India College of Haileybury, four candidates should be invariably nominated, the best qualified of whom should have the preference. Mr. Wynn recommended the reference of this question to a Special Committee, as it required deliberate consideration. He doubted the advantage of the College. Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Hume also questioned the benefit of continuing the establishment; the usefulness of which was advocated by Mr. Macaulay, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Grant. No amendment was proposed, and the clause having passed, the House directed the Report to be received.

On bringing up the Report of the Committee, Mr. Wilbraham moved a clause prohibiting the exclusive manufacture and sale of salt, by the Government of India, the object of which motion was to secure a new market for the salt of Cheshire. Mr. Ewart seconded the motion on behalf of the export trade of Liverpool; and it was supported by Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Hume. The President of the Board of Control made but a feeble opposition, stating that it was not the purpose of His Majesty's Government to defend the continuance of the tax; but it was a question of time, and involved important considera-

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tions with respect to the revenue derived from the taxes on Salt and Opium, amounting annually to two millions and a half. The authorities in India as well as those at home were in favour of the abolition of the tax on Salt ; and he hoped, therefore, that the amendment would not be pressed. It was accordingly withdrawn.

In the meantime, a summary detail of the provisions of the Bill, exclusive of those relating to the Trade, the Political Government of India, and the terms of the compromise, had been communicated by the President of the Board of Control to the Court of Directors; who, in their reply, pointed out the palpable inconveniencies of the proposed alterations in the constitution of the Government of India. The control to be exercised by the Governor of India over the Subordinate Presidencies would virtually supersede the check and authority hitherto exercised at Home; or, if a reference were still to be required to the Home authorities, the double proceeding would be attended unavoidably with additional expense, delay, and inconvenience. Nor was the project likely to answer the purpose of relieving the Governor-General from embarrassing details, so that he might maintain an efficient control over the Subordinate Presidencies—as, to be efficient, the control must be minute—and the labours of the Governor of India, including the Government of Bengal, would be too heavy to be efficiently performed by any individual. Although sensible of the importance of checking the expenditure of the Governments of Madras and Bombay, the Court doubted how far the duty could be entrusted to that of Bengal; as

the most striking instances of unauthorised expenditure, and of the creation of new establishments, were to be found in the proceedings of the Supreme Government. With respect to the separation of the Upper Provinces from those of Bengal proper, the Court admitted the advantage; but they thought the object might be attained, as satisfactorily and more economically, by the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, subject to the Bengal Government, than by the erection of a fourth Presidency, which must be productive of great additional expense, and would create much confusion in the distribution of the service. The Court expressed also strong objections to the proposal of depriving the Governors of Madras and Bombay of the assistance of their Councils. They doubted the expediency of the appointment of the fifth or additional member of the Council; the necessity of adding to the Ecclesiastical Establishment; or the advantage of the plan for the admission of students to the College. They expressed their satisfaction with the purpose intimated by Mr. Grant, of not proposing any alteration in the constitution of the Court which would be likely to impair its independence. Some further observations on the clauses of the Bill were submitted to the Board, affecting chiefly matters of detail. A subsequent communication further objected to the proposed extension of the Episcopal Establishment as not called for by the necessities of the case, and as incompatible with the duty which the Company owed to the natives of India, of imposing upon them no heavier a tax for the support of a church-establishment with

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which they could have no community of feeling, beyond such as was essential for the use of the servants of the State. They denied that the mortality which had taken place was attributable to the laborious duties of the office or the exposure of the Bishop to excessive fatigue; and they contemplated with apprehension the financial consequence of erecting two more Sees, when the institution of that of Calcutta had been followed by an increase of expenditure from 48,000*l*. to more than 100,000*l*. per annum, and augmented clerical pensions from 800*l* to 5,000*l*. a year: while unwilling, therefore, to place themselves in opposition to the wishes of the King's Government, of the Lord Primate, and the Religious Societies which had urged the proposed addition, the Court trusted that ministers would pause before pressing the adoption of a measure involving a certain, and perhaps, unlimited, addition to the permanent burthens of India. Objections to the intended changes in the constitution of the Government were also repeated; the needless and costly extension of the Supreme Council, and to the abolition of the Local Councils. The former was not persisted in; the addition being restricted to the fourth or Legislative Member, and the continuance or abolition of the Local Councils was, as we have seen, left to the discretion of the Court. The Court finally requested that the third reading of the Bill should be postponed until they should have had time to consider the amendments; which not having been complied with by Mr. Grant, they prepared a petition to the House against the Bill, which was submitted to a General Court of Proprietors for their approval, and having

been agreed to was presented on the 26th July, by Mr. Fergusson. The petition recapitulated the objections of the Court to the Bill—on the grounds of its making no provision for an appeal to Parliament, in cases of difference between the Court and the Board of Commissioners—of the inexpedience and expense of the alterations proposed in the constitution of the Indian Governments—of the unnecessary augmentation of the ecclesiastical establishment—and of the continuation of the college of Haileybury, which was maintained at a large annual charge, and was less efficient than a general system of education would be for securing good servants to the Indian empire. The house declined to receive the petition, or to hear counsel in behalf of the Petitioners, and, on the motion of Mr. Grant, proceeded to the third reading of the Bill. After some desultory discussions, in which the debateable provisions were attacked or defended according to the personal character and interests of the members, it was read a third time. It was then proposed by Mr. Wynn to add a clause empowering the Court of Directors to set apart a fourth of their military appointments for the sons of officers who had served for ten years in the military or civil service of the Company; but the proposal was resisted by Mr. Fergusson, because the Court had always practically shewn a disposition to pay due attention to such claims[1]; and by Mr. Grant, because he thought a case sufficiently strong had not been made out to warrant

[1] Mr. Fergusson stated that the number of Cadets appointed during the last twenty-one years was 5,092, of whom 409 were the sons of civil, and 411 of military officers; 124 the sons of maritime officers; 308 the sons of clergymen; and 1018 orphans.

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any interference with the patronage of the Court. The motion was negatived without division. Mr. Shiel then proposed that a provision should be made for the support of the Roman Catholic Church in India. This was objected to by Mr. Grant; but he proposed, instead, to add a proviso to the clause, by which the Governor-General in Council should not be precluded from granting, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, to any sect, persuasion, or community of Christians, such sums of money as might be expedient for the purpose of instruction, or for the maintenance of places of worship. After some opposition, this addition was acceded to. Mr. Wynn finally proposed that the College of Haileybury should be abolished; but the motion was negatived, and the Bill was passed.

The Bill, having passed the House of Commons, was transmitted to the House of Lords, and was read for the first and second time on the 29th of July, and 2nd of August. On the 5th, a petition was presented by the Company, praying to be heard by Counsel; but it was met by the motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne for going into Commitee on the Bill. Lord Ellenborough urged the impropriety of hurrying to a premature decision, a measure involving such momentous changes in the constitution of the Indian Government — a Government which had stood the test of more than half a century; and was the offspring of men who stood in the foremost rank of practical statesmen, Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt. He objected to the additional powers of the Board of Control, which would alter all the relations between the

Board and the Court of Directors, and give to the former a complete command over the latter; still further impairing that influence which the Court had hitherto beneficially enjoyed, and which could not fail to be materially enfeebled by the loss of the China trade. The proposed alterations in the organization of the Indian Governments would weaken, not strengthen, the administration, by vesting absolute power in the hands of the Governor-General. He concluded, by moving an instruction to the Committee to omit all such clauses as tended to alter the constitution and power of the Government of the several Presidencies in India. The objections of Lord Ellenborough were replied to by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and supported by the Duke of Wellington; and the amendment was negatived: no further discussion of any importance ensued: the clauses of the Bill were adopted with a few verbal amendments; and the Bill was ordered for the third reading. Prior to its passing into a law, a brief interval was suffered to elapse, in order to afford to the Proprietors an opportunity of considering whether or not they would place their commercial rights in abeyance, and to the Court of Directors to decide what course they would recommend the Proprietors to pursue.

At a Court of Directors, held on the 12th of August, it was moved by the Chairman and Deputy chairman, that the Court having unfortunately failed in their endeavours to obtain those modifications of the East India Bill, which were essential to enable the Company satisfactorily to conduct the territorial

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Government of India, regretted that they could not recommend to the Proprietors to place their commercial rights in abeyance, with a view to their being continued in the Government under the arrangements embodied in the Bill; and they, therefore, referred it, without any expression of opinion, to the Proprietors, to be dealt with at their discretion. A resolution was, however, adopted by the majority of the Court, which, while it recapitulated the most palpable objections to the Bill, determined to recommend to the Proprietors to defer to the pleasure of both Houses of Parliament, and to consent to place their right to trade in abeyance, in order to continue to exercise the Government of India for twenty years longer. To this resolution a dissent was recorded by Mr. Marjoribanks, the chairman, and Mr. Wigram, the deputy-chairman, in which, having explained their motives for concurring in the former proceedings of the Court, which constituted the basis of the proposed compromise, they objected to recommend to the Proprietors the relinquishment of their commercial rights; as the Bill had not provided for the conditions on which alone an equitable and safe compromise could have been effected. They considered that the Proprietors were entitled, both in justice and equity, to a guarantee fund of at least three millions from the proceeds of their Commercial assets, and that the provision for publicity as a rule was indispensable to the independence of the Court of Directors. Neither of these points had been conceded; and, on the other hand, although some important modifications had been made in the most

obnoxious provisions of the Bill, yet others had been introduced which rendered the scheme still more objectionable. The alteration in the constitution of the Indian Governments involved an unnecessary departure from the principles upon which the subordinate Presidencies had been conducted; and by which they had been held directly responsible to the authorities at Home. Instead of obviating the delay which had been so much complained of, it would increase the evil; and, instead of relieving the Governor-General from a portion of his duties, it would impose upon him additional labour and responsibility. It also created a considerable additional charge upon India without conferring any adequate benefit; while it deprived it, in some measure, of those resources without which the financial means of that country, both as regarded Income and Remittance, would be put to great hazard of diminution and loss. The transfer of the commercial Assets to Territory was likely to occasion, not only a serious depreciation of property, but great disappointment and distrust; and, lastly, they apprehended that the Court of Directors would be converted into little else than a mere instrument for giving effect to acts of the controlling Board; and that it would be better that His Majesty's Government should at once openly and avowedly assume the direct administration of India, than attempt to maintain an intermediate body in deference to those constitutional principles which led to its original formation under parliamentary regulation, but which was deprived by the present measure of its authority and rendered inefficient,

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and converted into a mere useless charge upon the revenues of India. Under these impressions, they could not consent to recommend to their constituents to confirm the compromise by consenting to place their Chartered Rights in abeyance under the provisions of the Bill[1]. The reasons which induced the majority, while concurring in the objections of the Chairman and Deputy to many of the provisions of the Bill, to recommend its acceptance to the Proprietors, were also put on record by several of the leading members of the Court, who adopted it as a lesser evil than its unqualified rejection; the result of which might be equally injurious to the pecuniary interests of the Company and the political interests of India. To carry on the trade would expose the Company to a destructive competition, which would render it a source of loss to all concerned, and the right of the Company to the commercial assets might be disputed, and their value reduced to insignificance, by being burthened with territorial debts, and debarred from the realisation of those demands which were justly due. With regard to the Government of India, the Court, though very inefficient as an administrative body, would still retain powers that might be beneficially exerted for the good of India, and that would secure important influence, such as the appointment of Members of Council at the several Presidencies—the power concurrently with the Board, of appointing, and the absolute power of recalling, the Governor of India and other high functionaries; the power

[1] Negociations regarding the Renewal of the Charter, p. 462.

to repeal, alter, and amend the laws and regulations enacted by the Local Legislature, and other judicious and useful provisions. If the Company withdrew, what would be the result. It was to be apprehended, that the administration would fall into less experienced hands, that India would be overrun and disturbed by commercial and political adventurers, and that the integrity of the British constitution would exist only by the sufferance of the minister who should hold an uncontrolled sway over twenty-two millions of annual revenue. If the Company should abdicate their functions, those evils to India which were most to be deprecated and dreaded would probably be aggravated; for the Ministers would be justified in assuming the entire administration and patronage of that vast empire to gratify their political adherents, and strengthen their Parliamentary influence; and influenced by these reasons, and by a consideration of the extent to which their previous recognition of the basis of the arrangement implied their acquiescence, the Court of Directors, with the exception of the Chairman and Deputy, agreed to recommend to the Proprietors to assent to the plan of the Government. A General Court was in consequence held on the 13th of August, when the resolutions of the Court of Directors and the minutes of the several members were laid before the meeting. In conformity with the recommendation of the Court, a resolution was moved by Mr. Randle Jackson, which, while it expressed the

[1] Paper by H. St. St. George Tucker, Esq., in explanation of his dissent from the propositions of the Chair. Negociations Company's Charter, p. 469.

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entire concurrence of the General Court in the strong objections entertained by the Court of Directors to the provisions of the Bill, yet, referring to past proceedings and looking to the difficult situation in which they were placed, declared it to be the intention of the Proprietors to defer to the determination of the Legislature, relying on its wisdom and justice, in the event of the expectation held out by His Majesty's Ministers being disappointed, for such further legislative measures as the interests of India, and those of the East India Company, might require. An amendment, declaring that the Proprietors could not, with justice to themselves or the people of India, consent to place their commercial charter in abeyance under the provisions of the Bill, was moved by Sir Charles Forbes; but it was rejected. A ballot was then demanded on the original motion, which took place on the 10th of August, and by a large majority decided the relinquishment by the Company of their commercial character, and their acquiescence in the plan of the Ministry for the future government of British India[1]. The Bill passed the House of Lords on the 19th of August, and received the Royal assent on the 20th.

Thus finally closed the commercial existence of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, who, after a remarkable career of per-

[1] The Proprietors of East India Stock had learned to participate in the indifference of the Parliament; and this great question was decided by little more than two hundred votes :

For the question . . .	173
Against it	64
Majority	109

severing and spirited exertion, struggling boldly in the outset with great and serious obstacles, and holding on an unflinching course through good and evil, had created and perpetuated a vast and valuable trade, which, while it stimulated and rewarded the industry of the Eastern nations, contributed essentially to the wealth, the prosperity, and the power of Great Britain. It might seem to be an ungrateful requital of the unquestioned services of the Company to deprive them of the commerce which was their work, when they were beginning to reap the recompence of their energy and perseverance; but the interests of the East India Company were necessarily subordinate to those of the Empire, or rather were identified with them; so that whatever they might be justly called upon to relinquish in their corporate character, they recovered in their capacity of citizens of the same state. The general included the individual good, or if incompatible, the latter must necessarily be sacrificed to the former. The only question was, therefore, whether the discontinuance of the commercial character of the Company was for the benefit of the community; and upon this head no reasonable doubt could be entertained. The necessity of that consolidation of resources and unity of design which, as we have already had occasion to observe, was indispensable in the early state of the Company's commerce had long ceased to exist; and nothing now obstructed the free participation of the English merchant in the profits of Eastern commerce, except the privileges of his countrymen. No further benefit could accrue to the state from the prolonged inviolability of

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these monopolies; and they were productive of positive prejudice to its commercial interests. They obstructed the natural expansion of the commerce through the greater boldness—it might be rashness, of individual enterprise. They restricted the amounts of the export trade to limits which it was likely that more adventurous trade would overleap in China as it had done in India; and they kept up the cost of the principal import beyond the level to which it might be expected to be reduced by mercantile competition. Whatever the convenience or advantage to the Company which might be secured by the monopoly of the China trade, its continuance was clearly irreconcileable with the interests of the nation, and it was the duty of those who presided over the affairs of the Empire to require its relinquishment as soon as the time for which it had been granted had expired.

If the commercial interests of the Empire demanded the discontinuance of the Company's mercantile character, those of India equally required the complete and final severance of the incongruous functions of Sovereign and of Merchant. There might be some convenience in the command of a ready channel for remitting to England the means of paying the expences incurred on account of the Indian territory; but this was of little importance compared with the opportunity which the cessation of the trade afforded for the concentration of the attention of the Company on the great duty of well-governing India, undistracted by the incompatible, and sometimes conflicting, objects of commercial speculation.

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The plan of appropriating the whole of the commercial assets of the Company, as at first proposed, to the territorial resources of India, in consideration of the grant of an annuity, secured upon its revenues, is not easily accounted for. The territory gained no advantage; as, although it was relieved of a part of its liabilities, it was burthened with a heavy annual payment of perhaps rather more than equal amount, and the commerce reaped no benefit; as there was offered only an annuity for a term of years, in place of an amount of capital yielding a larger income for ever. The arrangement consulted the benefit of neither party, and will probably be ultimately productive of embarrassment to both. The provision of a guarantee fund, enforced by the perseverance of the Directors, may remedy part of the inconvenience; but the amount of the principal set apart, was evidently insufficient. To most persons it would have seemed to be the simpler and the honester process to have suffered the Company to realise and divide their capital, as far as their means extended, any surplus being applied, as legally applicable, to the discharge of the territorial debt. The only reason assigned by the President of the Board of Control for not following this course, was the proposed continuance of the Government of India to the Company, upon the principle of their being connected with the country by a pecuniary interest. Without some such link, he observed, there could be no greater propriety in entrusting the administration of India to the Company than to any other incorporated association. Had this objection been insurmountable, there would probably have been no great difficulty in

BOOK III. CHAP. IX. 1833. devising a preferable substitute; for, although the East India Company included a fair proportion of individuals well-acquainted with India, and well fitted to be intrusted with the conservancy of its interests, yet, as a body, it was open to the imputations cast upon it in the House of Commons; and, in the majority of its members, presented no peculiar adaptation to the important office which it was to be empowered to discharge.

Whatever might be thought of the unfitness of the East India Company, that of the Supreme Legislature had been most unequivocally exhibited in the course of the discussions upon the Renewal of the Company's Charter. It was not merely indifference with which the subject was treated in both Houses of Parliament; but feelings of impatience and disgust were unmistakeably manifested upon almost every occasion in which the members were called upon to pronounce a decision essential to the well-being of the people of India, and to the most important interests, not of India alone, but, in connection with India, of the United Kingdom. That such a mood of the parliamentary mind is likely to be permanent is be expected from the constitution of Parliament, the members of which are necessarily pre-occupied by details of more immediate and local, although frequently insignificant, importance, and who have neither the information requisite to form correct views of the condition and necessities of a remote and unknown region; nor enjoy the leisure, nor feel the obligation, to acquire it. As long as this ignorance, and its natural consequence, indifference, prevails, it is in vain to look to Parliament for a vigilant and

wise guardianship of the affairs of India; and it will most assuredly ever evince a disposition to resign the management entirely into the hands of the Minister of the day, who will thus be invested with absolute and uncontrolled authority over the Indian Government. That he will render such power subservient to the command of a dominant influence in Parliament, is nothing more than the necessary consequence of the dependance of ministerial vitality upon parliamentary majorities; and an abuse of power can scarcely be avoided, unless a competent check be provided in the intermediate existence of an independent and influential body, interested in the welfare of our Indian Empire, competent to decide upon all questions affecting its prosperity and perpetuation, enjoying the confidence and support of the public, and commanding that weight in the deliberations of the Legislature, and the measures of the Administration of the day, which shall protect the people of India against the encroachments of the one and the negligence of the other. In which way this may best be accomplished, it may not be easy to determine; but in the case under consideration, however imperfect might have been the organisation of the Company, it was fortunate that the Court of Proprietors, in concert with their executive representatives, the Court of Directors, were left in the enjoyment of their political power. An undue proportion was perhaps retained by the Board of Commissioners; but the attempt of the ministers still further to enlarge the control of the Board, and to circum-

BOOK III. CHAP. IX. scribe the authority of the Directors was manfully and beneficially resisted.

1833. It is unnecessary to repeat the objections which were urged to the proposed changes in the legislative powers, and the internal constitution of the Indian Government, which seem to have deterred the minister from carrying his plan into complete and consistent operation. The consolidation of the laws affecting the different races and religions of the people of India into one uniform system, was soon shewn to be an impracticable and a dangerous undertaking; and it was scarcely necessary to have nominated a special and expensive commission for the purpose of inquiring into the powers of the existing courts, and the nature and operation of the laws in force, as these were subjects quite within the reach of the judicial servants of the Company, as well as the capability of suggesting useful or necessary alterations. The power of legislating for all persons, and for all Courts of Justice, was advantageously vested in the Supreme Government; but it might be doubted whether the association of the Chief Justice as a legal member of the Council, would not have more effectively and economically answered the purpose, than the special appointment of an individual from England, unfamiliar with the law or the practice of the Indian Courts, and recommended by no remarkable forensic qualifications. The concentration of the Supreme Government in a Governor-General and Council of India, was well adapted to secure uniformity of design and energy of action; but it was incomplete and contradictory in its

construction. The fourth Presidency was never established: the suggestion of the Court of Directors that the nomination of a Lieutenant-Governor would better answer the purpose being tacitly adopted. No council was attached to the office, nor to that of Governor of Fort William, which was somewhat incompatibly combined with the appointment of Governor-General of India. The Councils of Madras and Bombay were nevertheless retained, constituting a departure from the original scheme, the judiciousness of which, notwithstanding the weight of the reasons by which it was influenced, may perhaps be questioned. The other alterations were of minor consideration. The augmentation of the Ecclesiastical establishment was probably not very urgently needed; but as it involved no additional burthen on the people of India, it was immaterial to them, and might be useful to the Christian community. The extended liberty of access granted to Europeans, was also a matter of little importance, as it was not likely to be taken advantage of, nor was it subject to abuse as long as the power of legislating for Europeans was vested in the Supreme Government. The provision for the four-fold nomination of candidates for the civil service was quietly abandoned. These changes were, therefore, inoperative or immaterial; those which were of real magnitude were not unpropitious to the good Government of India.

The consequences to India of the measures which had been pursued in that country by the administrations which have passed under review, were throughout the whole period, progressively beneficial. Tranquillity had been maintained undisturbed in

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the old territories of the Company, and in those more recently acquired, had not been allowed to suffer any serious or durable interruption. International peace had also been upon the whole successfully enforced; and the results of the suppression of rapine and war were everywhere manifested in the increase of agriculture and population. Although the systems of judicature and police which prevailed in the Company's provinces laboured under many imperfections, yet much had been done towards their improvement; and they were still the objects of the unremitting care of the Government. The steps which had been taken towards the prolonged adjustment of the revenue of the Upper Provinces promised to bring that long-agitated question to a satisfactory conclusion; and the attention of the Government to the amelioration of the intellectual and moral condition of the people was beginning to produce the anticipated advantages. Much undoubtedly remained to be effected to counterpoise the evils which are inseparable from the nature of the connexion that subsists between the Government of India and its subjects — the unnatural rule of foreign masters differing in origin, language, civilisation, and religion—whose only sympathy with the natives of India arises from a sense of duty, not from identity of interests or reciprocity of feeling; who have no permanent stake in the country, no personal pride in its embellishment, no personal profit in its improvement—to whom, in short, it can never be a home. It is by this inherent and irremediable defect, that the main faults

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of the Indian Government—the costly and complicated machinery of an administration ill-suited to the condition of the society on which it has been forced — the slow and imperfect distribution of justice, the feeble and vicious organisation of the police, the perpetual and exhausting drain upon the public revenue — are to be accounted for; and not by any want of wisdom or benevolence in those who have been entrusted with the prosperity of India, and who have always assiduously and earnestly laboured for the good of the people. Nor have they laboured in vain. For, although the country has suffered, and must ever suffer, many and great disadvantages from the substitution of strangers for its own functionaries, its own chiefs, its own sovereigns, it has been, in some degree, compensated for their loss, by exemption from the fatal consequences of native mis-rule—by protection against external enemies—by the perpetuation of internal tranquillity—by the assured security of person and of property—by the growth of trade—the increase of cultivation—and the progressive introduction of the arts and sciences, the intelligence and civilisation of Europe.

APPENDIX.

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Declaration on the part of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, 24th February, 1824.

During a long course of years, the relations of peace and friendship have been established between the Honorable East India Company and the state of Ava, by public engagements, and by the mutually beneficial intercourse of trade and commerce. The Supreme Government of India, scrupulously adhering to the obligation of public faith, and cordially solicitous to cultivate a good understanding with all surrounding states, has never ceased to manifest, in a special degree, its desire to cement and improve the relations of amity, subsisting with the Court of Ava. It is notorious, however, that, notwithstanding the uniformly pacific and conciliatory demeanour of the British Government, the sovereign of Ava has, in repeated instances, committed or sanctioned acts of provocation and aggression which have more than once placed the two countries on the brink of hostilities, and the natural consequences of which have been averted only by the moderation and forbearance of the British power, conscious of its superior strength and resources, and naturally disposed to make the largest allowances for the peculiar character of the people and the Government. No. I.

No. I.

Of late, the Burman monarch, emboldened by a career of successful encroachment against the petty states intervening between the two empires, and more especially elated by the conquest of Assam, has dared to offer injury to the British power, under circumstances of studied insult, menace, and defiance, such as no Government, alive to a sense of honour, and duly mindful of its safety and best interest, can suffer to pass unavenged.

In the prosecution of a singularly wanton and unfounded claim to the island of Shapuree, situated at the Southern extremity of the Chittagong district, the Burman chief, styled the Rajah of Arracan, addressed a letter to the Governor-General in August last, demanding, under the implied alternative of rupture with the state of Ava, the removal of a small guard which had been stationed on that island, as an arrangement purely of police. No time was lost in replying to this letter, by a temperate exposition of the undeniable title of the British Government to the place, as established no less by its position on the British side of the main channel of the Naf, than by the indisputable evidence of the public records. The Governor-General on the same occasion expressed his persuasion, that the tone assumed in the Rajah's letter had been adopted without due reflection, and that neither that, nor the abrupt and unwarrantable demand for the evacuation of Shapuree, could have been authorised by the Government of Ava. An offer was farther made, should the arguments contained in the letter fail to satisfy the Rajah's mind, as to the justice of our title, to depute an officer during the approaching cold season to afford additional explanation on the spot, and to adjust all disputed boundary questions appertaining to the Chittagong frontier, in concert with commissioners from Arracan.

Some of the subordinate Arracanese authorities having previously declared, in writing, to the local officers of the Chittagong district, that the British guard, if not speedily withdrawn from the island of Shapuree, would be attacked and forcibly expelled; they were, in reply, distinctly warned,

No. I.

under orders from the Governor-General in Council, that any such procedure must be resented by the British Government as an act of positive hostility, and be punished accordingly.

The language of the Burmahs, in their official communications with the British officers, had been ever of a singularly boastful, assuming, and even insolent strain, and adverting to this habitual extravagance of tone, and to the fact that the Government of Ava itself had never raised a claim, nor addressed any representation to the Supreme Government on the subject of this paltry object of contention, it was not imagined that the Arracanese rulers seriously meditated the execution of their threat.

It was therefore, with equal astonishment and indignation that the Governor-General in Council learnt early in October last, that the Burmese chiefs of Arracan, called the four Rajahs, after suddenly assembling an unusual force at their frontier posts on the Naf, had, under cover of the night, deliberately attacked our guard on the island, consisting of a Jemadar and twelve privates of the Chittagong Provincial Battalion, whom they forced to retire after killing and wounding six of our men. The Rajahs at the same time sedulously promulgated, both verbally and in writing, that they had acted under the authority of a mandate from the Sultan of Ava, and that any attempt of the British Government to recover possession of what that Government had solemnly declared to be its unquestionable right, would be followed by an invasion of the eastern districts of Bengal, for which purpose the forces of the Burman Empire were advancing to the frontier. In a letter also addressed shortly afterwards by the Rajah of Arracan to the Governor-General, that chief had the unparalleled audacity to declare, that the party on the Island of Shapuree had been destroyed in pursuance of the commands of the great Lord of the Seas and Earth ; that if the British Government wanted tranquillity, it would allow the matter to pass ; but if it should rebuild a stockade on the island, the city of Dacca and Moorsheda-

No. I. bad, which originally belonged to the great Arracan Rajah, would be taken from it by force of arms.

No comments can be needed to illustrate the character of proceedings thus pushed to the extreme of insult and defiance, by a people who, notwithstanding their barbarous character, and extravagance of national pride, are by no means ignorant of the principles and observances which ordinarily regulate the intercourse between independent states, and who, as their whole conduct and language have shown, can feel keenly enough, in their own case, any supposed infraction of national rights or honour. If any additional circumstance were wanted to demonstrate to the conviction of the whole world, the utterly wanton as well as gross nature of the injury thus offered to a friendly power in a time of profound peace, and when no question or discussion had arisen between the two governments, it will be found in the fact, that recently these very officers have professed their perfect willingness that Shapuree should be considered neutral ground—thus acknowledging the dubious nature of the Burman title, and insidiously tendering a proposition at this late period of the season, which, if advanced in proper language by their Government on the first commencement of the discussion, would probably have been assented to by the British authorities, as an admissible compromise, where the object in dispute was so utterly worthless and unimportant.

The first impulse of the British Government, on learning the outrage at Shapuree, was naturally to take into its own hands the instant chastisement of its authors, by fitting out an expedition to attack any assailable points in Arracan. But various considerations induced the Governor-General, subsequently, to pause in the adoption of this course. On farther reflection, it appeared possible that the King of Ava might have been misled by false and interested reports, or that the name of their sovereign might have been used without authority by the Rajahs of Arracan and Ramre, whose intemperate and even insolent language had, on former occasions, excited the serious displeasure of the British Govern-

No. I.

ment. It was deemed, at all events, a step worthy the magnanimity of a powerful nation, and consistent with our uniform policy towards the state of Ava, to afford to the Burman monarch an opportunity of disavowing and making atonement for what we were willing to consider, in the first instance, as the unauthorized act of a subordinate authority. Under this view, a letter was addressed to the ministers of the King of Ava, in the form of a declaration on the part of the Governor-General, explaining in decided, but moderate language, the sentiments to which the occurrence at Shapuree had given rise on our part : demanding reparation for that outrage, by the disgrace and punishment of its immediate authors ; and solemnly warning the Burman Government of the consequences which must inevitably attend a refusal to comply with this just demand, and to repress, in future, the insolence and hostility of tone which its local officers had invariably assumed at every point where they had come in contact with the British power, whether in Chittagong or Assam. Copies of this letter were forwarded to the capital of Ammerapoora, by two separate channels about the middle of November last.

Conformably with the intention avowed in the letter to the Court of Ava, the Governor-General in Council, at the same time despatched re-inforcements to Chittagong, in order to ensure the safety and restore the tranquillity of that district which had been so seriously disturbed by the conduct of the Burmese, and likewise to overpower any opposition that might be made to the re-occupation of the island of Shapuree. On the arrival of the force in the Naf river, the limited objects with which it had been deputed, and the pacific intentions of the British Government pending the reference to the Court of Ava, were distinctly explained to the Arracanese authorities, both by the magistrate of the district, and the officer commanding the troops, and so perfectly disposed were the Burmese to credit our assurances, that an intercourse was speedily re-established between the officers and the functionaries of both states, on the most friendly and confident footing.

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For a time hopes were entertained, that the differences with the Burmese might be amicably adjusted on terms consistent with the national honour, and that the Burman Government would consent to the definition of such a boundary between the two countries, as would obviate the future occurrence of disputes and misunderstanding on the south-east frontier.

About the middle of January, this pacific aspect of affairs was suddenly changed, and all friendly intercourse suspended, by the arrival of a military officer of the highest rank, at the head of large re-inforcements, accompanied by two commissioners from the capital, vested with extensive powers, and bringing positive orders to dislodge the English, at whatever hazard, from the island of Shapuree. The purport of these orders was ostentatiously proclaimed with a distinct intimation, that any attempt on our part to interrupt their execution, would be considered tantamount to a declaration of war between the two states. The first act of the commissioners was to cross over, in state, to the disputed island, obviously for the purpose of recovering a nominal possession; the British detachment having been previously withdrawn, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the spot. The following day, they succeeded in decoying to the shore two of the officers of the Honourable Company's armed vessels in the Naf, whom, with their boat's crew, they treacherously seized, in defiance of the laws of good faith and hospitality, and imprisoned and detained them for nearly a month, expressly on the ground of their having anchored their ships off the island of Shapuree. Shortly afterwards, the standard of the Burman empire was hoisted by stealth, during the night, on the disputed ground, an act which, however contemptible in itself, must necessarily be regarded as a farther pledge of the obstinate determination of the Burman Government to carry its point, even at the known hazard of involving the two nations in war.

During all this period the King of Ava has maintained a haughty and contemptuous silence on the subject of the

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remonstrance addressed to the Burmese Court more than three months back. The above document must have reached the capital some time previous to the deputation of the commissioners; and the Governor-General in Council is hence compelled to interpret the acts and declaration of those ministers, as the only answer which the Government of Ava deigns to return.

Whilst the British territories on the southern frontier have been thus actually violated under circumstances of peculiar and aggravated insult, the language and proceedings of the Burmese, on the north-east frontier of Bengal, have evinced more extensive and mischievous designs of aggression, and leave no rational ground to doubt that the King of Ava has deliberately resolved to pursue the schemes avowed by his officers, in contempt of the rights and dignity, and in open defiance of the British Government.

For many years past, the parties dividing authority, and struggling for ascendancy in the Raj of Cachar, had incessantly applied to the British Government, soliciting it to interfere, as the paramount state, to settle the affairs of that country. Its internal dissensions had frequently disturbed the tranquillity of the adjoining district of Sylhet, and the Governor-General in Council having satisfied himself, that Cachar was altogether independent of the Burmese, and that the measure could afford no just ground of umbrage to that Government, adopted a resolution on the 19th June last, to take the country avowedly under protection, on the usual conditions of political dependence. Whilst arrangements and negotiations were in train for defining the terms of our connection with the chief, whom it was determined to reinstate in possession, and who was residing under British protection within the Honourable Company's territory, intelligence arrived from Assam, that the Burmese were preparing an army to invade and conquer Cachar. The Governor-General's agent on the north-east frontier, lost no time in addressing letters to the Burmese governor of Assam, briefly apprising him of the nature of our views

No. I. and measures in regard to the Raj of Cachar, and calling upon him to desist from any project of molesting that country. The outrage at Shapuree having in the interval occurred, the agent subsequently warned the Burman authorities, under the express instructions of Government, that their occupation of Cachar would not be permitted, as, independently of the resolution recently taken by the British Government to protect that territory, it could not, without a culpable dereliction of duty, and a disregard of the plainest maxims of prudence, allow the Burmese to advance unopposed to a position, the command of which would so greatly facilitate the execution of the threat of invasion, repeatedly pronounced by their countrymen in other quarters. The only answer returned to these communications was that orders had arrived from the King of Ava, to follow up and apprehend certain Munniporian chiefs (peaceably residing within the British territory), wherever they might be found; that these orders would be executed without any respect to territory or jurisdiction; and that the Burmahs were not to be hindered from carrying into effect the mandates of their sovereign, by any opposition which the British authorities might offer.

It soon appeared, that an army had been assembled in the Burman dependency of Munnipore, as well as in Assam, for the execution of the fresh purpose of aggression now distinctly threatened.

On the advance of the invading force from the eastward, the acting magistrate of Sylhet addressed letters of remonstrance, under the orders of Government, to the military chiefs in command, of a purport and tendency similar to those which had been previously transmitted to the commander of the forces in Assam.

Totally disregarding, however, the intimation thus explicitly given by the British Government of its determination to resist their occupation of Cachar, on grounds the justice of which cannot be questioned, and anxious only to effect their object of concentrating a large army on the

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immediate frontier of the Company's possessions, the parties from the northward and eastward hurried on, by forced marches, in avowed defiance of our remonstrances, and effected a junction at Jattrapore, only five miles from the frontier of Sylhet, where they entrenched themselves in extensive and formidable stockades. Happily, a party of observation had been advanced to the frontier on the first intelligence of the near approach of the forces of the King of Ava, of sufficient strength to keep them in check, and prevent any actual violation of the British territory in that quarter. But the injury already sustained by their advance has been serious, no less to the suffering country of Cachar, than to the district of Sylhet, throughout which a general alarm has been spread, causing many of our Ryots to abandon their homes, and materially impeding the collection of the public revenues.

The conduct and declarations of the Burman commander on the Sylhet frontier have unequivocally disclosed, if indeed any further proofs were wanting, the ambitious designs and insufferable arrogance of the Court of Ava.

After long detaining and grossly insulting the vakeel, and successive messengers deputed to their camp by the Governor-General's agent, they notified in a letter to Mr. Scott, that they had entered the country of Cachar to restore the Rajah, and to follow up and seize the Munnipoorian chiefs wherever they might be found, knowing well at the time, that the whole of those chiefs had obtained an asylum within the British provinces. "Should (they observed) Chorjeet, Marjeet, and Gumbheer Sing, and the Cossayers enter the English territories, apprehend and deliver them, to save any breach of friendship. So doing, no rupture will take place, and the commercial intercourse now in existence, will continue. If the Cossayers enter the English territories, and their surrender is refused, and if they receive protection, be it known, that the orders of the most fortunate sovereign are, that, without reference to any country, they must be pursued and apprehended."

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Whilst occupying their threatening position in Cachar, the generals of the King of Ava had, moreover, planned the conquest of Jyntia, another petty chiefship situated similarly with Cachar in regard to the British frontier; but which having formerly been restored as a gift to the Rajah's family by the British Government, after a temporary convulsion, was more distinctly recognized as a dependency of Bengal. The Rajah of Jyntia, in a letter addressed to him by the Burmese commanders, was called upon to acknowledge submission and allegiance to the King of Ava, and to repair forthwith to the Burman camp. A demonstration was further actually made against Jyntia, to enforce the above requisition, when the British troops frustrated the execution of this hostile and menacing encroachment.

Two successive checks sustained by the armies of his Burmese Majesty on the Sylhet frontier, at length induced their partial retreat from the threatening position which they had taken up in that quarter. One party, however, still maintains its position in Cachar, and the retirement of the Assamese force, which had taken post more immediately on the British frontier, has been made under circumstances indicating no retractation of the hostile designs of the government. The officers and men also of the Honourable Company's armed vessel *Sophia* have been released; but no kind of apology or explanation of their detention has been offered by the chiefs who committed that outrage.

From the foregoing detail it will be evident, that in a season of profound peace, and wholly without provocation, the Court of Ammerapoora has grossly and wantonly violated the relations of friendship so long established between the two states; and by the hostile conduct and language of its officers, and the actual advance of its forces to several and widely distant points of our frontier, has compelled the British Government to take up arms not less in self-defence, than for the assertion of its rights, and the vindication of its insulted dignity and honour.

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The scornful silence maintained by the sovereign of Ava, after the lapse of so many months, and the commission of renewed outrages and insults in that interval, obviously by his sanction and command, evince, that all prospect of an honourable, and satisfactory adjustment of our differences, by correspondence and negociation, is at an end. At the same time, the season for military operations is rapidly passing away; and it hence becomes indispensable, whilst an effort may yet be made, to adopt measures, without delay, for repelling the dangers which menace the eastern districts, and for placing the safety of our frontier beyond the reach of the caprice and violence of the Burman monarch.

The Governor-General in Council has therefore ordered the advance of the force assembled at Gowalpareh, into the territory of Assam, to dislodge the enemy from the commanding position which they occupy at the head of the Burhampooter, and is prepared to pursue such other measures of offensive warfare as the honour, the interests, and the safety of the British Governnment demand recourse to at the present crisis.

Anxious, however, to avert the calamities of war, and retaining an unfeigned desire to avail itself of any proper opening which may arise for an accommodation of differences with the King of Ava, before hostilities shall have been pushed to an extreme length, the British Government will be prepared even yet to listen to pacific overtures on the part of his Burmese Majesty, provided that they are accompanied with the tender of adequate apology, and involve the concession of such terms as are indispensable to the future security and tranquillity of the eastern frontier of Bengal.—By Command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council,

GEORGE SWINTON, Secretary.

II.

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Proclamation by Brigadier General Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., and K.C.T.S., Commander of the English Army; December, 1824.

No. II. Inhabitants of Pegu! What folly can actuate you to attempt any further opposition to the British arms: you know and have seen how weak and contemptible all the efforts of the Burma army have proved in combat with the troops I have brought against them.

Against you, inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Pegu, and the noble Talien race, we do not wish to wage war. We know the oppression and tyranny under which you have been labouring for a length of time by the cruel and brutal conduct of the Burmese Government towards you. They acknowledge you by no other title than the degrading and ignominious appellation of Slaves. Compare, therefore, your condition with the comfort and happiness of the four maritime provinces, Mergui, Ye, Tavoy and Martaban, now under the protection of the English flag: follow their example to enjoy their blessings, by placing yourselves under my protection: it is a duty you owe to your aged and infirm parents, to all your female relatives, your wives and innocent children, instead of keeping them and yourselves in constant terror of your lives, and like wild beasts frequenting the jungles; and that in trying to support the hopeless cause of your merciless conquerors, the Burmese. Choose from among yourselves a Chief, and I will acknowledge him.

III.

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Death af Dowlat Rao Sindhia. Extract from the dispatch of Major Stewart, Resident, Gwalior, 22nd March, 1827. *Sutherland's Political Sketches*, p. 155.

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"About nine o'clock yesterday morning a horseman came at full speed from the Maha Raja's camp to the residency, with a message from Hindoo Rao, stating that the Maha Raja had expressed an anxious wish to see me, and begging that I would as soon as possible proceed to the palace. Conceiving that the Maha Raja must be in his last moments, I instantly mounted a horse, and, accompanied by Captain Dyke alone, I reached the palace in a very short time after I had received this message. I found an anxious crowd outside, and all the chiefs and people of respectability assembled in the different apartments of the palace. As soon as I met Hindoo Rao, I anxiously inquired after the Maha Raja. Hindoo Rao said that he was very ill, and that I should see him immediately, etc., etc. During this conversation, messages were carried backwards and forwards, from the interior apartments, where the Maha Raja was, and it was at last announced that H. H. was ready to receive me. I proceeded to his apartment, accompanied by Hindoo Rao, Raojee Khasjee Walla, Atmaram Pundit, and perhaps there were one or two more. Captain Dyke also accompanied me. H. H. lay, or rather reclined, on a couch supported by pillows, and a number of female servants were in attendance around him. Behind a purdah close to him were Baeza Baee, Rookma Baee, and Bala Baee, and their attendants. I was much shocked to observe the sad change that had taken place in the Maha Raja's appearance: his arms and upper part of his body had

No. III. become quite emaciated; his belly and lower extremities were greatly swelled. I went up to him, took his hand in mine, and leant over him, so as to hear what he might say. He remained silent for some time, apparently unable to speak. At last he said, in a distinct and audible voice, so as to be heard by every one present, and even I believe behind the purdah, I wish you to do whatever you think proper ("*Jo toom moonasib jano so kuro*"). I replied, that every thing should be aranged according to His Highness's wishes, and I added some words of consolation, and said, I trusted by the blessing of God he would yet recover. He appeared affected, and said, By the sight of you, and your friendship ("*Ap ke dekhne se, aur ap ke mohubbet se*"), but he could not finish the sentence. A long pause now ensued, and I at last said, "Is there any thing else that your Highness would wish to say to me." He replied, I have a great deal to say to you ("*Bhoutera sa kuhna hy*"). But after waiting a considerable time he could add no more. I then proposed to retire into another room for a short time, and to return when His Highness might revive a little, and be able to speak. This was agreed to by all present. When I was about to retire, I heard the voice of Baeza Baee suggesting that Dr. Panton should be sent for. I asked the Maha Raja if it was his wish that that gentleman should be called, when His Highness made a faint sign of assent.

"I have been thus particular in giving the expressions used by the Maha Raja on this occasion, as they were probably the last words he uttered. I had not retired above an hour to an upper apartment, when the screams of females announced that the Maha Raja's life had fled.

"It would be difficult for me to give any adequate notion of the scene that ensued; the cries of women and the lamentations of men, the uproar, and the tumult, were beyond all description.

"With reference to what I have stated in the last paragraph of my letter of the 20th instant, I immediately determined to remain at the palace till the Maha Raja's body

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should be carried to the funeral pile; and a request to that effect was also made to me by Hindoo Rao, and the other principal persons present. It was very satisfactory to me to find, that though there was a great appearance of grief, there were none of the appearances that indicated an intended Suttee. When a woman intends to ascend the funeral pile of her husband, her grief assumes a more sublime character: she sheds no tears, she makes no lamentation, she lays aside her veil, and no longer conceals herself from the sight of men. There were none of these signs. When, therefore, I was informed that the Baeza Baee had declared she would follow the Maha Raja, I was certain that it would not be difficult to restrain her. For this purpose, however, I was called on to speak to the lady, with only a thin piece of cloth held up by two females between us.

" It is not necessary to detail all that was said on this occasion. I terminated the discussion by assuming the authority which the Maha Raja's dying declaration had, I said, given me, and I desired that she would withdraw to her own apartments. She was at last dragged away by her female attendants. Shortly after, a memorandum consisting of seven articles was brought to me, purporting to be the Maha Raja's last will but not bearing his signature, the principal of which were, the Maha Raja's declared intention to adopt a son; the appointment of Hindoo Rao to be the superintendant, and another person to be the Mookhtar. In case of the birth of a son, he is to be heir to the possessions; " and," it is added, " that the adopted son shall be obedient to the orders of the Maha Raja and the Baeza Baee as long as they live." For the fulfilment of all these intentions he appeals to the support of the British Government.

It was a singular and a melancholy sight to see the Maha Raja dressed in his last apparel, adorned with jewels and pearls, seated in his palankeen with his face uncovered, as if still alive, accompanied by all his state-elephants and led

No. III. horses, set out on this last procession. He was accompanied to the funeral pile by almost every man in camp; and the tears of the multitude showed, that however deficient in many of the qualities of a good prince, he was neither a cruel nor a tyrannical sovereign. The Maha Raja was by no means deficient in understanding, to which indeed he owed the salvation of his state amid the wreck of the Mahratta Empire. In conversation, the comparisons and illustrations he used were frequently very striking and happy. His temper was mild and gentle in the extreme, though his courage was never doubted. Whatever may have been the vices and crimes of his youth (and these I believe are more to be ascribed to evil counsellors than to himself), his latter years have been unmarked by any gross violation of morality. Apathy and indolence were his besetting faults, which through life prevented him from ever executing the duties of a sovereign with efficiency. On the whole, when it is considered that he was raised to a sovereignty at that time the most extensive in India, at the early age of fourteen, and that he was brought up from childhood amid the scenes of treachery and rapacity that characterise a Mahratta camp, it is easy to find an excuse for many of the errors and vices of his reign. If in any part of this dispatch I have transgressed the rules of official correspondence, I trust the occasion will plead my excuse. I should be insensible indeed, if I could, with feelings unmoved, report the death of a chief whom I have long known, and with whom I may of late be said to have been on terms of intimacy. Nor is it the least affecting circumstance attending his death, that the last act of his life showed his unbounded confidence in the justice and generosity of the British Government."

IV.

Page 296.

Initial Proceedings in adjusting Revenue Settlements of a Pergunna, in the Western Provinces. From the Meerut Magazine, vol. iv., p. 347.

When the survey of the Pergunna was completed, and ready for settlement, the collector, after examining the records of his office to ascertain the fiscal history and proprietary changes which had transpired in every village, issued a proclamation to the effect that his tent would be pitched at Shahjehanpore, in the centre of the Pergunna, on the 5th of December. The proclamation was not issued in the usual *chuspaneedu shood* style; but to every chuprassee were allotted ten villages in one vicinage, in each of which he was to publish three different times, by beat of drum, that the twenty years' settlement was about to take place, and that any man who had any claim to be adjusted of any kind connected with the settlement was to make his appearance, whether Chokeydar, Asamee, Coparcener, or Lumberdar. The number of people that this drew together was astonishing; not only all the litigants but all the *tumashabeens* of the neighbourhood were attracted to the spot. There were 250 villages in the Pergunna, and there must have been at least 3,000 men present whenever the Cutcherry hour approached. The Comitia were invariably held in the open air; and regularity in so large a crowd was preserved in the following way. A space of about forty feet square was marked out by ropes, within which no one was allowed to come, except for special reasons. A mound was raised in the middle of one side of the square, on which the Collector, one or two of his Omlah, and visitors and friends from Cantonments (ourselves amongst the number), were privileged to sit. Op- No. IV.

No. IV. posite to this point two smaller squares were formed outside the larger one, and these were always kept open to admit litigants, remonstrants, and petitioners. Two squares were formed on this plan instead of one, merely for the purpose of dividing plaintiffs from defendants; and this was very necessary, as there were frequently fifty men on each side in disputed questions respecting village administration. On the right and left of the Collector, carpets were strewed outside the rope for the most respectable of the Native visitors and Zemindars. All the feuds in the Pergunna were distinctly marked by the people of one side clubbing together, and not intermingling with the other. Those who could not be comfortably accommodated on the ground, by reason of the crowd, climbed up the trees, and seated themselves on the boughs. When the Collector reached the spot where all had been prepared for his reception, he ordered all the men who were assembled to seat themselves, and the business of the day commenced.

But before these grand tribunals were held, the Collector had for the first fortnight been out in different parts of the Pergunna, inspecting the villages, and holding personal communication with every intelligent person in the neighbourhood. By the Pergunna map he could easily arrange, so as to visit the villages in regular succession. His camp was moved to the four remotest corners in the Pergunna for two or three days, each time, and all the surrounding villages were inspected. His establishment remained meanwhile at Shajehanpore preparing the papers. The remaining villages which were closer to the fixed camp were easily examined during the remainder of his stay. The use of these personal visits has been questioned; but surely a fair judgment may be formed of the pressure of the Jumma from the state of repair of the village, from the mode of husbandry, the comforts of the people, and the state of the crops, and above all the general character of the soil may be examined, so as to trace from what part a new variation occurs. It must be considered, however, that this is merely auxiliary

to other means of inquiry. Were entire dependence placed on such results and deductions, and were they not submitted to comparison, it might, perhaps, be considered presumptuous in any officer to profess to gain a knowledge of the assets of a village by riding across its area, and inspecting or pretending to inspect its capabilities; but with the survey and other preliminary statements before him, such inquiries and examinations must obviously be of great service. No. IV

The day we arrived in camp was the first on which the public Comitia were assembled; and we confess ourselves struck with the patriarchal mode of distributing justice. Of the private conferences held every day, we shall speak shortly when we come to the subject of assessment. Almost the first petition presented was by a certain Sibba, who stated that he had been unjustly ousted from the possession of one hundred beegas of land through the instrumentality of the Lumberdar, Maharaj Sing, who, when the Khusruh measurement was taking place, had caused him to be apprehended in the Foujdaree Court on a false accusation, and had, through collusion with the Putwaree, got this land measured as his (the Lumberdar's) property. We remarked to the Collector that the complainant appeared to excite great interest among the Zemindars; and he, after hearing the statement of both parties, which were of course contradictory, directed that any man who could speak in favour of the petitioner's claim should come forward and avow his knowledge. On this a confused murmur arose, and every one seemed to speak in favour of the Petitioner; but the Collector, not being satisfied that he distinctly apprehended them, ordered all who were persuaded of the justice of the claim to stand up. On this, the whole multitude stood up *en masse*. Nevertheless, apprehensive that they might possibly have misunderstood his question, he directed them all again to be seated. When they were all level, and scarcely one head appeared above the other, all those who considered the Petitioner's claim to be unjust, were ordered to stand

No. IV. up. But not a soul rose in favour of the oppressor; and the Collector having examined the Putwaree's accounts minutely, and ascertained that the Petitioner had been in possession of the land, of course directed his reinstatement, and excluded, with the concurrence of the proprietors, Maharaj Sing from the future management of the village. Sibba was allowed to succeed him. The air was rent with acclamations at this summary, expeditious, and certain mode of dispensing justice; and one's heart rejoiced to see a simple and uncorrupted people (because they were happily nescient of Courts and their injurious influences) so enthusiastic and unanimous in defending the poor and helpless against the proud man's contumely.

Cases on which evidence was requisite, were disposed of by the Collector's own order, or reference to a more private Punchayut; but all questions into which the Pergunna Zemindars might be supposed to have entered, and which could not have escaped their observation, were referred in this manner to the public sense of the meeting; and really the unbought and unsolicited testimony of three or four thousand peers must come very near the truth; and at any rate must be more trustworthy than the *Gunga Jullee* oath of two paid witnesses.

V.

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Statement of the Nawab Mehndi Ali Khan. From the Mofussil Akhbar. Asiatic Monthly Journal, December, 1833.

No. V. "In appealing to the opinion of the public, I profess that I am solely actuated by a desire to do myself justice; and I disclaim every intention of wishing to draw conclusions inimical to the character of any one: facts as they are here related will speak for themselves, and they are sufficiently

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clear to show the injustice with which I have been treated through the intrigues of certain interested persons at the Court in Lucknow.

"While residing at Furruckabad, in retirement, in the hope of passing the remainder of my life in quietness, I received two firmans from the King of Oude; the first stating that Mr. Maddock had, at the King's request, applied to the British Government for its sanction to my accepting office. Having resided at Futtyghur for nearly twelve years, I considered myself a subject of the Honourable Company, and consequently thought it my duty to submit, for the information of that government, the communication made to me by his Majesty; I immediately transmitted a copy of the firman in question to Mr. Secretary Sterling, who, according to custom, forwarded the same to the Resident at his Majesty's court.

"At the expiration of twenty days, I received a second firman from his Majesty, stating that he had received the Resident's permission to send for me, and directing me to repair to Court. A copy of this order I forwarded to Mr. Maddock, and immediately left Futtyghur for Lucknow. On my arrival, I waited upon his Majesty, who received me with much kindness; and some days afterwards invested me with the usual dress of honour, elephant, palkee, etc. Upon this occasion, his Majesty directed me to wait on Mr. Maddock I did so; when the Resident informed me, that, in obedience to the will of his Majesty, I was to conduct the affairs of government in the character of Prime Minister.

"At this period, Akber Alli Khan (son of Haidar Beg Khan), Ikbal ood Dowla (son of Captain Futteh Alli), and Mewa Ram, who were conducting the affairs of the state, were, by order of his Majesty, removed from office, and prohibited from attending the durbar.

"Immediately on my appointment, I proceeded to examine the amil's accounts in the office of Mewa Ram, who, though entirely incompetent to the duties, had been appointed to the situation of dewan by the ex-minister,

No. V. Matamid-ool-Dowlah, and discovered that many lacs of rupees had been received from the different amils and afterwards embezzled by the dewan. A list of the different balances due by the amils, together with a statement of the sums received by the dewan and unaccounted for, I laid before his Majesty, who ordered that his displeasure should be expressed toward Mewa Ram; and further directed, that, until the immense sums of money of which he had defrauded the state were made good, that individual should be prohibited from appearing at Court.

"Rajah Balkishun, son of the late Dya Kishun, though nominally assistant to the dewan, Mewa Ram, was in reality the principal person in the office of the dewan; this person was allowed exclusively to transact all the affairs of the office, with the assistance of his uncle Mul Ram. I was repeatedly advised, upon coming into office, to appoint my own dewan, and, as vacancies occurred in the minor branches of the establishment, to fill them up by mootsuddies of my own; but to prove that I was not, like my predecessors, actuated by motives of gain, I allowed those whom I found in office to continue on; and all papers and documents relative to the public collections and the revenue department went through the hands of Balkishun and Mul Ram, and continued to do so until the period of my removal from office.

"In consequence of orders from my successors, Roshun ood Dowla and Muzaffer Ali Khan, the office of dewani, and its establishment, together with the accounts of the revenue collections for the last two years (embracing the whole period of my administration), were made over to Roshun ood Dowla. I challenge any one to prove the existence of a defalcation of a single rupee during the whole period. I can, indeed, lay my hand upon my heart and solemnly declare before heaven, that the whole of my conduct was actuated with the most disinterested views of serving his Majesty and the state. During the two years of my administration, all the money I paid to the troops, the head

servants, and the royal family, went through the hands of Captain Futteh Alli and his mootsuddies; and I solemnly declare, that neither myself nor any of my dependents have been concerned, in the least degree, in any pecuniary transactions of a public nature, except through this channel; a fact which can be easily ascertained by a reference to the records of the captain's office. No. V.

"The jagirs, appropriated to the support of the ladies of his Majesty's muhal, were made over in amani to amils, (collectors) including the Punj Kosi; and during the period of my administration, the collections made therefrom were regularly paid to the parties entitled to them, and receipts bearing their signatures obtained.

"To account for this part of my conduct, it is neccssary I should state that these tracts of country were, before my coming into office, accustomed to be farmed out by the ladies of the muhal to individuals, who abused their trust by the greatest acts of tyranny and oppression towards the unfortunate ryots. In consequence of the measures adopted by me in making over these tracts of country as amani (direct collection), and giving triennial leases to each of the amils I selected, the jagirs began in a short time to assume a prosperous appearance, and the collections, from the beginning of Akwar or November to the end of Assar or June, were punctually paid; and I have no doubt, that, had this arrangement been permitted to remain in force, the estates would have continued to improve, and have yielded a higher revenue."

Appended to this memoir or appeal is a curious statement of the revenues derived by the ladies of his Majesty's muhal from jagirs assigned to them. Their annual incomes (without reckoning contingent surpluses) were, during the two years of the hakeem's administration, as follows:—

Nuwaub Khoodseah Sooltan Banu Begum Sahib .	Rs. 2,40,000
Nuwaub Taj Mahal Sahib	2,40,000
Her Highness Badshah Begum Sahib . . .	9,00,000
Joonab Malikah Zummaneeah Sahib . . .	3,00,000
Joonab Mookudder Owleea, Nuwaub Sooltan Begum Sahib	2,40,000

No. V. making a total of 19,20,000 rupees (about 190,000*l.*) for the support of these five personages: a sum nearly twice as great as the allowance settled upon the Queen of England; and not far short of the entire charge upon the civil list for maintaining the whole royal family of the British Empire with the exception of the King.

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